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Complete Report  
*of the*  
**Chairman of the Committee  
on Public Information**

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1917: 1918: 1919



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WASHINGTON  
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE  
1920

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# Complete Report

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# Chairman of the Committee on Public Information

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# COMPLETE REPORT

OF THE

## CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC INFORMATION.

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NEW YORK, June 1, 1919.

*To the President:*

I have the honor to submit herewith a full report of the activities of the Committee on Public Information from the time of its establishment to the period of its conclusion.

Created under your Executive order of April 14, 1917, in the very first hours of the war, and forced into instant operation by imperative necessities, the committee had to start with a purpose only, rather than any predetermined program, and grew under pressure instead of the orderly sequence provided by deliberated plan. This primary purpose was to drive home the absolute justice of America's cause, the absolute selflessness of America's aims.

Realizing public opinion as a vital part of the national defense, a mighty force in the national attack, our task was to devise machinery with which to make the fight for loyalty and unity at home, and for the friendship and understanding of the neutral nations of the world.

At no point were our functions negative. We dealt in the positive, and our emphasis was ever on expression, not suppression. We fought indifference and disaffection in the United States and we fought falsehood abroad. We strove for the maintenance of our own morale by every process of stimulation; we sought the verdict of mankind by truth telling. We did not call it "propaganda," for that word, in German hands, had come to be associated with lies and corruptions. Our work was educational and informative only, for we had such confidence in our case as to feel that only fair presentation of its facts was needed.

Under the insistence of this necessity, the committee grew to be a world organization. Not only did it reach deep into every community in the United States, but it carried the aims and objects of America to every land.

There was no part of the great war machinery that we did not touch, no medium of appeal that we did not employ. The printed word, the spoken word, the motion picture, the poster, the signboard—all these were used in our campaign to make our own people and all other peoples understand the causes that compelled America to take arms in defense of its liberties and free institutions.

Besides the daily war news, issued officially to the whole press of the country, the committee supplied the specialized press with feature articles and selected services. We had deep appreciation that it was not the war of an administration, but the war of 110,000,000 people, and even to the point of military indiscretion we opened up the activities of the Government to the inspection of the citizenship. Of 6,000 releases, dealing with the most vital importances, only three were questioned as to accuracy, and inquiry upheld two of these.

In the Four Minute Men alone the committee commanded the volunteer services of 75,000 speakers, operating in 5,200 communities, and making a total of 755,190 speeches.

Through the speaking division it toured great groups, like the Blue Devils, Pershing's Veterans, and the Belgians, arranged mass meetings, conducted 45 war conferences, sent famous speakers from coast to coast, and coordinated the speaking activities of the entire Nation.

Through a pamphlet division it prepared and published the war literature that was issued in pamphlet form. It commanded the services of any writer that it chose to call, and at its back were over 3,000 of the leading historians of the country, every man in the service. These pamphlets, covering every phase of America's ideals, purposes, and aims, were printed in many languages. Seventy-five millions reached the people of America, and other millions went to every corner of the world, carrying our defense and our attack. Experts planned the most effective circulation schemes, and experts directed the distribution, in order that every printed bullet might reach its mark.

The committee mobilized the advertising forces of the country—press, periodical, car, and outdoor—for the patriotic campaign that gave millions of dollars' worth of free space to the national service.

It mobilized the artists of America, on a volunteer basis, for the production of posters, window cards, and similar material of pictorial publicity for the use of various Government departments and patriotic societies. A total of 1,438 drawings were used.

It issued an official daily newspaper, serving every department of Government, with a circulation of 100,000 copies a day. For official use only its value was such that private citizens ignored the supposedly prohibitive subscription price, subscribing to the amount of \$77,622.58.

With the aid of a volunteer staff of several hundred translators the committee kept in direct touch with the foreign-language press, supplying selected articles designed to combat ignorance and disaffection.

It organized and directed 23 societies and leagues designed to appeal to certain classes and particular foreign-language groups, each body carrying a specific message of unity and enthusiasm to its section of America's adopted peoples.

It acted as a bureau of information for all persons who sought direction in volunteer war work, in acquiring knowledge of any administrative activities, or in approaching business dealings with the Government. In the 10 months of its existence it gave answers to 86,000 requests for specific information.

The committee supervised the voluntary censorship of the newspaper and periodical press.

It established rules and regulations for the cable censorship with respect to press dispatches.

It planned war exhibits for the State fairs of the United States, also the great series of interallied war expositions that brought home to our millions the exact nature of the struggle that was being waged in France. In Chicago alone 2,000,000 people attended in two weeks, and in 19 cities the receipts aggregated \$1,432,261.36.

It gathered together the leading novelists, essayists, and publicists of the land, and these men and women, without

payment, worked faithfully in the production of brilliant, comprehensive articles that went to the press as syndicate features.

One division paid particular attention to the rural press and the plate matter service. Others looked after the specialized needs of the labor press, the religious press, and the periodical press. The Division of Women's War Work prepared and issued the information of peculiar interest to the women of the United States, also aiding in the task of organizing and directing.

Through the medium of the motion picture America's war progress, as well as the meanings and purposes of democracy, were carried to every community in the United States and to every corner of the world. Pershing's Crusaders, America's Answer, and Under Four Flags were types of feature films by which we drove home America's resources and determinations, while other pictures, showing our social and industrial life, made our free institutions vivid to foreign peoples. From the domestic showings alone, under a fair plan of distribution, the sum of \$878,215 was gained, which went to support the cost of the campaigns in foreign countries that were necessarily free.

Another division prepared and distributed still photographs and stereopticon slides to the press and public, over 200,000 of the latter being issued at cost. This division also conceived the idea of the "permit system" that opened up our military and naval activities to civilian camera men, and operated it successfully. It handled also the voluntary censorship of still and motion pictures in order that there might be no disclosure of information valuable to the enemy, the number averaging 700 a day.

Another division, in New York, guarded the reputation of America in foreign countries by stopping the export of film giving false or misleading impressions of American life. By an arrangement with the War Trade Board, no export license was granted without the approval of the committee, and this leverage, aided by the patriotism of the industry, enabled us to control the flow of film to foreign countries, changing it in such manner as to serve the national cause.

Soon discovering that the fight for world opinion must be made on the ground, the committee opened offices in every capital of the world. To these offices went a cable and wireless service carrying the "spot" news of the day; a mail feature service; still photographs and posters for window display; feature films showing our military effort, our social and industrial progress; pamphlets for translation and distribution; speakers to augment the efforts of those secured in the country itself, etc.

At the outset we found that America was dependent upon foreign press services for her intercourse with other countries; that the volume of information was small, and what was worse, concerned only with the violent and unusual in our national life. The wireless and cables were used to remedy this evil situation. In close cooperation with the Navy, a service went out from Tuckerton to the Eiffel Tower for use in France, and then for relay to our offices in Berne, Rome, Madrid, and Lisbon. From Tuckerton the service flashed to England, and from England there was relay to Holland, the Scandinavian countries, and Russia. We went into Mexico by cable and land wires; from Darien we sent a service in Spanish to Central and South American countries for distribution by our representatives; the Orient was served by leaps from New York to San Diego, to Cavite to Shanghai. From Shanghai the news went to Tokio and Pekin, and from Pekin on to Vladivostok for Siberia. Australia, India, Egypt, and the Balkans were also reached, and by balloons, mortars, and aeroplanes we carried the truth across the firing line into the Central Powers.

For the first time in history the speeches of a national executive were given universal circulation, and I am proud to tell you, sir, that your declarations had the force of armies.

In many countries your speeches were printed by the committee's agents on native presses and circulated by the million. They were sent out by the million from America in a score of languages. They were printed on post cards and embodied in moving-picture films and interpreted by the committee's speakers. The acts of Congress, all of our official deeds and utterances, the laws that showed our devotion to justice,

instances of our enthusiasm and unity—all were put into print in every language—Teheran and Tokio getting them as completely as Paris or Rome or London or Madrid.

Before this flood of publicity the German misrepresentations were swept away in Switzerland, the Scandinavian countries, Italy, Spain, the Far East, Mexico, Central and South America. From being the most misunderstood nation in the world, America became the most popular.

This daily news service by wire and radio was supplemented by a mail service of special articles and illustrations that went into foreign newspapers and magazines and technical journals and periodicals of special appeal. We aimed to give in this way a true picture of the American democracy, not only in its war activities but also in its devotion to the interests of peace. There were, too, series of illustrated articles on our education, our trade and industry, our finance, our labor conditions, our religions, our work in medicine, our agriculture, our women's work, our Government, and our ideals.

Reading rooms were opened in foreign countries and furnished with American books, periodicals, and newspapers. Schools and public libraries were similarly supplied. Photographs were sent for display on easels in shop windows abroad. Window hangers and news-display sheets went out in English, French, Italian, Swedish, Portuguese, Spanish, Danish, Norwegian, and Dutch; and display sheets went to Russia, China, Japan, chosen parts of India, and the Orient, to be supplemented with printed reading matter by the committee's agents there. Every conceivable means was used to reach the foreign mind with America's message.

And there was no bribery, no sneaking influence of any sort. We got into the foreign press by the simple expedient of making our output so newsy and so interesting that the editor could not resist it. The records show that as high as 90 per cent of our material was printed in foreign countries, despite the shortage of paper everywhere and the pressure of war news on newspaper space.

Many of the foreign problems were far from simple. When our propaganda films began to go abroad it was found that the Germans had bought up practically all the moving-picture houses in some of the neutral countries. They were

busy with German propaganda films. They would not take American war pictures on any terms. It looked like a complete blockade for the committee's films, but a way was found to submarine it. The heads of the American exporting companies met with the committee's officers and agreed that no American films should be exported unless a certain amount of American propaganda film was included in the order. The foreign movie houses could not live without American-film. The war had reduced the output of the foreign film companies to a minimum. The German-owned movie houses had either to capitulate or starve to death. Some took one alternative, some the other, but practically all gave up the fight. Charlie Chaplin and Mary Pickford led Pershing's Crusaders and America's Answer into the enemy's territory and smashed another Hindenburg line.

The net effect of the whole foreign campaign of the committee has been to make a world of friends and well-wishers for the United States out of a world that was either inimical or contemptuous or indifferent. We were looked upon as a Nation of dollar-mad materialists. All the American news in foreign papers confirmed that view of us. It was news of strikes and lynchings, riots, murder cases, graft prosecutions, and all the public washing of the Nation's dirty linen. Our policies, America's unselfish aims in the war, the services by which these policies were explained and these aims supported, and the flood of news items and articles about our normal life and our commonplace activities—these have combined to give a picture of the United States to foreign eyes more truthful and more flattering. It is a picture that is of incalculable value in our future dealings with the world, political and commercial. It is a bit of press agenting that money could not buy, done out of patriotism by men and women whose services no money could have bought.

Even as the Committee on Public Information claims success in its fight for public opinion in other countries, so does it advance its pride in the unity and enthusiasm that marked America's war effort. The foreign born, feared with respect to their ignorances and prejudices, were brought into closer touch with our national life than ever before, while absolute openness and honesty in the matter of official news, the eloquence of speakers, the story of motion pictures and posters,

all combined to banish the ignorances and indifferences that threatened the full loyalty of the native born.

I am happy to report that your original instructions have been disregarded in no single particular. The activities of the committee have been open and honest. There is not one that we are ashamed to reveal. No dollar has ever been sent on a furtive errand. Neither at home nor abroad has a cent been spent for any secret or corrupt purpose.

It may be asserted also that the most searching investigation will discover no waste, but that study of the following tables will reveal a care and economy in expenditure that is in itself a striking testimonial to the intelligence and devotion of the men and women associated in the work.

1. Funds received by the Committee on Public Information from appropriations:

From the President, 1917-1919-----	\$5, 600, 000. 00
From Congress, 1918-19-----	1, 250, 000. 00
<b>Total -----</b>	<b>6, 850, 000. 00</b>

2. Receipts by committee from earnings, 1917-1919----- 2, 825, 670. 23

3. Total moneys received by committee:

Appropriation -----	6, 850, 000. 00
Earnings and miscellaneous receipts-----	2, 825, 670. 23
<b>Total -----</b>	<b>9, 675, 670. 23</b>

4. Committee expenditure (domestic and foreign, 1917-1919) :

From national security and defense-----	4, 236, 494. 54
From congressional appropriation-----	1, 305, 715. 23
From earnings-----	1, 748, 062. 85
<b>Total -----</b>	<b>7, 290, 272. 62</b>

5. Returned to appropriations:

National security and defense-----	1, 754, 322. 12
Congressional appropriations-----	573, 549. 60
Miscellaneous receipts-----	57, 525. 89
<b>Total -----</b>	<b>2, 385, 397. 61</b>

6. What the committee cost the Government from Apr.

14, 1917, to June 1, 1919-----	4, 464, 602. 39
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6. *Statement of expenditures by divisions of the Committee on Public Information from the organization of each division to June 1, 1919.*

## DOMESTIC WORK.

	Appropriation.			
	National security and defense expenses, 1918.	Salaries and expenses, Committee on Public Information, 1919.	Disbursements from earnings.	Total.
Executive.....	\$48,886.92	\$24,698.88	.....	\$73,585.80
State Fair Exhibitions.....	1,635.49	1,982.07	.....	3,617.57
Civic and Educational.....	457,973.32	110,332.76	.....	568,306.08
Official War Savings Bulletin.....	264,272.26	470,609.17	.....	734,881.43
Division of Speaking.....	52,158.11	18,685.63	.....	70,843.74
Division of Four Minute Men.....	72,870.46	67,279.94	.....	140,150.40
Division of News.....	37,873.75	38,450.07	.....	76,323.82
Division of Syndicate Features.....	15,407.96	438.18	.....	15,846.14
Division of Films.....	217,250.03	192,729.08	\$656,751.48	1,066,730.59
Bureau of Expositions.....	23,616.57	26,098.63	1,006,142.80	1,006,142.80
Bureau of War Photographs.....	.....	.....	50,643.06	100,358.26
Division of Foreign Language Newspapers.....	9,080.57	.....	.....	9,080.57
Division of Business Management.....	109,940.55	187,610.82	.....	297,551.37
Division of Distribution and Production.....	126,997.79	102,673.41	30.35	229,701.55
Division of Labor Publications.....	51,754.44	18,127.18	.....	69,881.62
Division of Women's War Work.....	19,956.42	2,354.01	.....	22,310.43
Service Bureau.....	14,810.95	28,884.86	.....	43,695.81
Division of Pictorial Publicity.....	8,310.35	4,860.62	.....	13,170.97
Division of Advertising.....	12,612.93	9,899.69	.....	22,512.62
Division of Industrial Relations.....	920.75	.23	.....	926.98
Division of Americanization Survey.....	2,709.00	.....	.....	2,709.00
Total.....	1,549,038.62	1,305,715.23	1,713,567.69	4,568,321.54

## FOREIGN WORK.

	Appropriation.			
	National Security and Defense Expenses, 1918.	National Security and Defense Committee on Public Information, 1919.	Total.	Disbursements from earnings.
Foreign Section.....	\$871,373.56	\$852,587.95	\$1,723,961.51	.....
Foreign Picture Service.....	85,427.41	206,026.08	291,453.49	\$34,495.16
Foreign Press—Mail.....	11,133.45	141,004.82	152,138.27	.....
Foreign Press—Cable.....	112,162.60	181,106.52	293,269.12	.....
Peace Conference.....	.....	60,000.00	60,000.00	.....
Work with Foreign Born.....	.....	30,923.76	30,923.76	.....
Hungarian Bureau.....	12,488.41	9,200.07	21,688.48	.....
Scandinavian Bureau.....	4,693.93	35,194.06	39,887.99	.....
Polish Bureau.....	54.00	4,797.49	4,851.49	.....
German Bureau.....	12,172.70	32,677.07	44,849.77	.....
Italian Bureau.....	.....	10,094.87	10,094.87	.....
Lithuanian Bureau.....	.....	3,819.80	3,819.80	.....
Czecho-Slovak.....	.....	1,629.17	1,629.17	.....
Jugo-Slav.....	.....	3,603.49	3,603.49	.....
Russian Bureau.....	.....	3,252.18	3,252.18	.....
Four Minute Men.....	.....	2,032.53	2,032.53	.....
Total.....	1,109,506.06	1,577,949.86	2,721,951.08	34,495.16

<i>7. Receipts from the activities of the Committee on Public Information.</i>	
Division of Films	\$859, 994. 35
Bureau of Expositions	1, 438, 004. 24
Bureau of War Photographs	70, 600. 10
Division of Distribution	19, 509. 22
Official Bulletin	71, 323. 80
Foreign Section films	179, 439. 70
Miscellaneous refunds and receipts	186, 798. 82
	2, 825, 670. 23

## PART I.

### Work of the Domestic Section of the Committee on Public Information.

In no other belligerent nation was there any such degree of centralization as marked the duties of the Committee on Public Information. In England and France, for instance, five and more organizations were intrusted with the tasks that this committee discharged in the United States. And in one country, in one year, many of the warring nations spent more money than the total expenditure of the Committee on Public Information during the 18 months of its existence in its varied activities that reached to every community in America and to every corner of the civilized world.

A brief outline of the work, division by division, is herewith appended:

#### THE VOLUNTARY CENSORSHIP.

Despite general opinion, the Committee on Public Information was not an agency of censorship, nor was the press of the United States at any time under any compulsion of statute in the sense that the European press was curbed and supervised. Instead of being bound by prohibitive laws, backed by drastic penalties, the newspapers of the United States were put upon their honor, and made the partners of Government in guarding "military information of tangible benefit to the enemy."

The Committee on Public Information had its sole connection with press censorship in the issuance of the following card, which will show in itself the baselessness of those rumors that charged control of "opinion" and "criticism."

#### WHAT THE GOVERNMENT ASKS OF THE PRESS.

The desires of the Government with respect to the concealment from the enemy of military policies, plans, and movements are set forth in

the following specific requests. They go to the press of the United States directly from the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy and represent the thought and advice of their technical advisers. They do not apply to news dispatches censored by military authority with the expeditionary forces or in those cases where the Government itself, in the form of official statements, may find it necessary or expedient to make public information covered by these requests.

For the protection of our military and naval forces and of merchant shipping it is requested that secrecy be observed in all matters of—

1. Advance information of the routes and schedules of troop movements. (See par. 5.)
2. Information tending to disclose the number of troops in the expeditionary forces abroad.
3. Information calculated to disclose the location of the permanent base or bases abroad.
4. Information that would disclose the location of American units or the eventual position of the American forces at the front.
5. Information tending to disclose an eventual or actual port of embarkation; or information of the movement of military forces toward seaports or of the assembling of military forces at seaports from which inference might be drawn of any intention to embark them for service abroad; and information of the assembling of transports or convoys; and information of the embarkation itself.
6. Information of the arrival at any European port of American war vessels, transports, or any portion of any expeditionary force, combatant or noncombatant.
7. Information of the time of departure of merchant ships from American or European ports, or information of the ports from which they sailed, or information of their cargoes.
8. Information indicating the port of arrival of incoming ships from European ports or after their arrival indicating, or hinting at, the port at which the ship arrived.
9. Information as to convoys and as to the sighting of friendly or enemy ships, whether naval or merchant.
10. Information of the locality, number, or identity of vessels belonging to our own Navy or to the navies of any country at war with Germany.
11. Information of the coast or antiaircraft defenses of the United States. Any information of their very existence, as well as the number, nature, or position of their guns, is dangerous.
12. Information of the laying of mines or mine fields or of any harbor defenses.
13. Information of the aircraft and appurtenances used at Government aviation schools for experimental tests under military authority, and information of contracts and production of air material, and information tending to disclose the numbers and organization of the air division, excepting when authorized by the Committee on Public Information.

14. Information of all Government devices and experiments in war material, excepting when authorized by the Committee on Public Information.

15. Information of secret notices issued to mariners or other confidential instructions issued by the Navy or the Department of Commerce relating to lights, lightships, buoys, or other guides to navigation.

16. Information as to the number, size, character, or location of ships of the Navy ordered laid down at any port or shipyard, or in actual process of construction; or information that they are launched or in commission.

17. Information of the train or boat schedules of traveling official missions in transit through the United States.

18. Information of the transportation of munitions or of war material.

*Photographs.*—Photographs conveying the information specified above should not be published.

These requests to the press without larger authority than the necessities of the war-making branches. Their enforcement is a matter for the press itself. To the overwhelming proportion of newspapers who have given unselfish, patriotic adherence to the voluntary agreement, the Government extends its gratitude and high appreciation.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC INFORMATION,  
By GEORGE CREEL, *Chairman.*

As will be seen, no law stood behind these requests, compliance resting entirely upon honor and patriotism. There were violations, as a matter of course, but as it was realized that the requests of Government were concerned with human lives and national hopes, as it was driven home that the passing satisfaction of a news item might endanger a transport or a troop train, the voluntary censorship grew in strength and certainty.

#### DIVISION OF NEWS.

A first duty of the committee, as we saw it, was the coordination and control of the daily news of military operations given out by the war-making branches of Government. The work was soon turned over to the Division of News, which became the sole medium for the issuance of official war information, and acted not only for the Army and Navy, but for the White House, the Department of Justice, the Department of Labor, the National War Labor Board, the Council of National Defense, the War Industries Board, the War Trade Board, and the Alien Property Custodian. It had its sworn representatives in the war-making branches of the Govern-

ment, trained newspaper men whose duty was to open up operations to the inspection of the people. The committee believed that public support was a matter of public understanding, and it became the duty of the division to take dead-wood out of the channels of information, permitting a freer, more continuous flow. This was not the simplest thing in the world. On one hand was the press, impatient of reticence and suspicious of concealments, and on the other hand were generals and admirals reared in a school of iron silence. Both, however, grew in understanding. The press finally realized our honesty of purpose, and the military experts came to have an increasing faith in the power of absolute frankness. The Army and Navy, through this Division of News, pledged themselves to give to the people instant and honest announcement of all casualties, all accidents, all disasters. We did not have to conceal reverses because we did not have to fear for the courage of America.

All the official news of government, with direct relation to the war, went to the people through the Division of News. The Pershing communiques, the weekly press interviews with Gen. March, Chief of Staff, and daily interviews with Secretary of War Baker were other regular news features issued in mimeographed form.

Preparation of the daily casualty lists for the newspapers was one of the duties of the News Division. Originally these lists were issued for immediate release, but as the totals swelled to such a point that the task of carrying them on the telegraph wires became too great an arrangement was made at the request of the press associations by which the lists were printed and mailed to newspapers with a five-day release date. This system meant no delay in the notification of relatives, who received word by telegraph from The Adjutant General's Office several days in advance of publication in the newspapers.

During the latter part of its existence the News Division took over the preparation of a nightly review of the news of the world for transmission by wireless to the vessels of the Navy in all waters, as well as to all transports in passage.

The division also acted as a reference bureau in connection with the voluntary censorship, advising and interpreting the Government's requests.

The News Division also issued a weekly digest of war news for country weeklies. Country dailies also asked to be put on this list, which grew to more than 12,000. At any intimation that this matter was not desired, the paper was removed from the mailing list and by this and other checking we were able to keep a more or less careful watch on the extent to which the service was used. It ran as high as 6,000 columns a week. Some 2,000 newspapers throughout the country were served by wire association. An extremely conservative estimate placed our average daily figure with these at one column per newspaper per day, or 12,000 columns per week, not including the mass of our stuff which was printed first-hand in Sunday newspapers and worked into mosaics for feature stories. Nor did this include the large number of newspaper and magazine stories for which we supplied data exclusively to a writer or correspondent who brought in the idea of the story he wanted, nor the vast amount of time spent in clearing the way for them to get first-hand such information as they required. Reckoned solely on the basis of mimeographed matter issued by the News Division, 20,000 columns per week was an extremely conservative estimate of the use made of the service by the press of America.

A special and painstaking effort was made to present the facts without the slightest trace of color or bias, either in the selection of the facts to be made public or in the manner in which they were presented. Thus the News Division set forth in exactly the same colorless style the remarkable success of the Browning guns on the one hand and on the other the facts of bad health conditions in three or four of our large camps.

Every precaution was exercised also to guard against misstatements. Manuscript of articles prepared by employees of the committee were invariably submitted for approval to the department chief from which the information emanated. In cases where a subordinate furnished the information one of the heads of the department also approved it. No possible check as to accuracy was omitted. The effectiveness of the system is proved by the fact that while over 6,000 releases were issued in the year and a half of operation, only three were ever questioned. As two of the attacks were without honest foundation, the record of the News Division stands as

one mistake in 6,000 instances. No news organization in the world equals, or even approaches, this record of painstaking accuracy established by a war organization hastily assembled and driven at all times under tremendous pressure.

Mr. J. W. McConaughy was director of the Division of News until sent to Central America, at which time Mr. Leigh Reilly took up the work, carrying it forward with the same faith, devotion and brilliance.

From first to last, the division never closed doors, remaining open 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, a clearing house for Government news, a service bureau to the press.

#### DIVISION OF CIVIC AND EDUCATIONAL COOPERATION.

A second imperative duty of the Committee on Public Information was to put into convincing print America's reasons for entering the war, the meaning of America, the nature of our free institutions, and our war aims, together with a thorough analysis of the Prussian system, as well as an exposure of the enemy's misrepresentations, aggressions, and barbarities. The Division of Civic and Educational Cooperation was formed, and to its aid were called the best American investigators, writers, economists, historians, and political scientists, and in addition we enlisted the powerful cooperation of the National Historical Board.

Money could not have purchased the voluntary aid that was given freely, the various universities lending their best men, and individuals devoting weeks of their time to specific tasks without remuneration. In logical sequence, the following pamphlets were prepared, printed, and distributed:

How the War Came to America	5,428,048
Swedish	67,487
Polish	82,658
German	292,610
Italian	129,860
Spanish	96,816
Bohemian	121,058
Portuguese	9,375
National Service Handbook	454,699
The Battle Line of Democracy	94,848
President's Flag Day Address	6,813,340
Conquest and Kultur	1,203,607
German War Practices	1,592,801
The War Cyclopedia	195,231

German Treatment of Conquered Territory-----	720, 848
War, Labor, and Peace-----	584, 027
German Plots and Intrigues-----	127, 153
The War Message-----	2, 499, 903
Nation in Arms-----	1, 666, 231
Government of Germany-----	1, 798, 155
German -----	20, 500
Great War from Spectator to Participant-----	1, 581, 903
War of Self-Defense-----	721, 944
American Loyalty-----	702, 598
German -----	564, 787
American Interest in Popular Government Abroad-----	596, 533
Home Reading Course for Citizen Soldiers-----	361, 000
First Session of War Congress-----	608, 950
German War Code-----	514, 452
American and Allied Ideals-----	228, 986
German Militarism-----	303, 600
German -----	103, 300
War for Peace-----	302, 370
Why America Fights Germany-----	725, 345
Study of the Great War-----	678, 929
The Activities of the Committee on Public Information-----	23, 800
Friendly Words to the Foreign Born-----	570, 543
The Prussian System-----	571, 036
Labor and the War-----	509, 550
A War Message to the Farmer-----	546, 911
Plain Issues of the War-----	112, 492
Ways to Serve the Nation-----	568, 907
What Really Matters-----	574, 502
The Kaiserite in America-----	5, 550, 521
War Publications Bulletin-----	13, 126, 006
Post Cards-----	1, 687, 408
Posters—Why Germany Wants Peace-----	31, 000
Germany's Confession-----	324, 935
The German Whisper-----	437, 484
National School Service-----	4, 251, 570
Lieber and Schurz-----	26, 360
America's War Aims and Peace Terms-----	719, 315
 Total -----	 61, 626, 352

*Publication for Foreign Section.*

La Libertad Universal-----	102, 967
Las Intenciones del Alemania-----	95, 798
Lialtdad a Estados Unidos-----	124, 229
The German Bolshevik-----	137, 375
La Guerra Intrepreation-----	125, 100
Las Reve'ationes del Principe Lichnowsky-----	46, 850
La Guerra del Trabajo-----	48, 611

Ein Aufruf Meiner Vaterland	60,500
R. W. & B. No. 10 (Spanish)	49,750
Portuguese	15,000
America's War Aims (Spanish)	80,600
Mexican	17,400
<b>Total</b>	<b>904,180</b>

*Publications for Friends of German Democracy (in German).*

My London Mission (Prince Lichnowsky)	661,300
The Meaning of America	10,421
The Democratic Rising of German people in '48	20,320
On Loyalty, Liberty, and Democracy	19,070
Friends of German Democracy	61,500
Democracy, the Heritage of All	30,000
The Root of the Evil	30,000
No Qualified Americanism	30,100
German Militarism	1,500
<b>Total</b>	<b>864,211</b>

*Publications for Division of American Alliance for Labor and Democracy.*

Why Workingmen Support	313,535
Who is Paying for This War?	313,082
German Socialists and the War	316,005
To the Workers of Free America	323,603
What Can Your Local Branch Do?	15,000
Labor's Red, White, and Blue Book	99,385
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,380,612</b>

*Miscellaneous.*

Posters—Capitol Building	26,100
Posters—Independence Hall	26,100
Farmers' Bulletin	8,000
Posters for War Cyclopedia	2,050
Purpose and Scope	25,000
For Freedom (Serbian National Defense)	5,000
War Savings Campaign Appeals	6,000
Posters—America Gave you All	7,500
Map—The Pan-German Plan	122,000
Buttons, American-Hungarian Loyalty League	25,489
Newspaper, United States Department of Labor	80,000
Streamers, Four-Minute Men	25,000
Division of Films Bulletin	121,119
Selective Service Registration Bulletin	765,700
The Advertising Bulletin	112,000
Register, Four-Minute Men	1,606,350

Circulars, Every Man Must Register-----	7, 163, 770
The American Navy-----	2, 100
Flying for America-----	2, 100
America at War-----	12, 000
Guarantee of Permanent Peace-----	26, 162
Under Four Flags (posters)-----	22, 000
Window Display Suggestions-----	5, 600
Will American Socialists Do This (Yiddish)-----	32, 000
Why Workingmen Support the War (Yiddish)-----	33, 000
No Compromise for America-----	15, 683
Ships, More Ships (poster)-----	15, 000
Address of Secretary Lansing:	
Spanish-----	34, 000
Portuguese-----	15, 000
Total-----	<u>10, 350, 553</u>
Grand total-----	<u>75, 117, 178</u>

Such was the excellence of the pamphlets that many of the great metropolitan dailies printed them in their entirety as supplements. Nor does the total take account of the hundreds of thousands of copies of these pamphlets printed and distributed by private agencies and individuals at their own cost. The figures also show domestic circulation conclusively, although a great majority of the pamphlets were put into 14 foreign languages and given world-wide distribution.

It is a matter of pride to the Committee on Public Information, as it should be to America, that the directors of English, French, and Italian propaganda were a unit in agreeing that our literature was remarkable above all others for its brilliant and concentrated effectiveness.

At no time was any haphazard method of distribution employed, for while a fixed mailing list was maintained 75 per cent of the pamphlets were sent only upon request as a safeguard against waste. Among the organizations that assisted in effective distribution were the Department of Agriculture, the American Federation of Labor, the Department of State, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, the Young Men's Christian Association, National War Council, the American Library Association, the State defense councils, Members of both Houses of Congress, and the political parties. Besides the usual newspaper notices given when pamphlets were released the last two, "Conquest and Kultur" and "German War Practices," as well as the "Flag Day Speech" (with annotations), "How the War Came to Amer-

ica," and the "War Message" (with annotations), were published serially in many papers throughout the country.

A second great task of the division was to reach the schools, the colleges, and universities with the message of America in order that the youth of the land should be made to understand the nature of the conflict in every detail. Representatives of the division went before teachers' institutes, summer sessions, educational bodies, etc., and the great institutions of learning were joined in organized form for the study of the war by teachers, pupils, and whole communities.

In direct response to a request from the Emergency Council of Education and the Education Commission of the National Education Association, the division commenced the publication of the National School Service, a 16-page paper issued twice a month to every one of the 520,000 teachers in the United States. In many respects this publication was one of the most remarkable features of the war, for it gave to the schools the needs and messages of Government in concise and usable form and to the Government a direct medium for reaching the 20,000,000 homes represented in the schools.

The achievements of the division are due entirely to the devotions and abilities of Prof. Guy Stanton Ford, dean of the University of Minnesota, its director from first to last.

#### **DIVISION OF PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION.**

The production and distribution of the literature and other printed matter issued by the committee started in June, 1917, upon the publication of the "War Message and Facts Behind It." The printing was all done by the Public Printer. The distribution was handled through the circulation department at No. 10 Jackson Place.

From June to November 1, 4,399,650 copies of nine pamphlets were printed and distributed. The Public Printer could not keep up with the demand for pamphlets and the distribution facilities were not adequate at No. 10 Jackson Place, so the Division of Production and Distribution was organized, printing contracts were let in New York, and on January 1, 1918, the first floor of the Printers Craft Building was leased as a distribution center.

A complete stock of all the committee's publications was kept to fill the constant demand from all parts of the coun-

try. The requests came from Congressmen and Senators, ministers and school-teachers, labor leaders and war organizations, etc., who wished to spread the truth about the war and America's position. The number of pamphlets sent on each request was limited and a definite understanding that the pamphlets be carefully distributed was made in each case.

A mailing list of the leaders of thought in the country was compiled, to whom a copy of the pamphlets for general distribution were sent as soon as issued.

Special campaigns were planned to carry a particular message over a wide distribution. Five million copies of the President's Flag Day Address were delivered by hand by the Boy Scouts of America to men and women who agreed to read the pamphlets and then pass them on.

Five hundred and sixty thousand copies of the "Kaiserite in America" were sent to traveling men in the United States to combat German lies.

Other special campaigns were made in schools, camps, and cantonments; Liberty loan workers and Four-Minute Men and local leaders were urged to advise of special conditions requiring attention in their districts, mailing lists of names to whom literature should be sent. Over 30,000,000 pamphlets were distributed by these methods to July 1, 1918.

As the work of the division grew and the efficiency of the distribution facilities became apparent, the work of producing and distributing all the printed matter issued by the committee, except that done at the Government Printing Office, was centered in the division.

In July the division undertook the campaign for the Department of Labor to promote registration of men for employment. It furnished all the channels of distribution for the literature of the campaign.

On extremely short notice the committee undertook the advertising campaign for the Provost Marshal General prior to the second draft. The greater part of the campaign was based on the equipment of the Division of Production and Distribution. As the time was so short only the most direct methods could be employed.

It distributed 100,000 copies of a four-page newspaper to all publication advertisers, advertising agents, and large manufacturers, containing advertising copy for reprinting.

The Selective Service Register was issued as a four-page newspaper, serving a double purpose of a news sheet and poster.

A small poster was distributed to every rural free-delivery box in the country.

All churches received a copy of the Four Minute Men registration bulletin. A total of over 8,000,000 pieces of literature were sent out to specific addresses. The able director of this division was Mr. Henry Atwater.

#### FOUR MINUTE MEN.

The Four Minute Men will live in history as the most unique and one of the most effective agencies developed during the war for the stimulation of public opinion and the promotion of unity. The following letter, written by the President of the United States, may be cited as one of many deserved tributes from the heads of Government:

THE WHITE HOUSE,  
Washington, November 29, 1918.

*To all the Four Minute Men of the Committee on Public Information:*

I have read with real interest the report of your activities, and I wish to express my sincere appreciation of the value to the Government of your effective and inspiring efforts. It is a remarkable record of patriotic accomplishment that an organization of 75,000 speakers should have carried on so extensive a work at a cost to the Government of little more than \$100,000 for the 18-month period—less than \$1 yearly on an individual basis. Each member of your organization, in receiving honorable discharge from the service, may justly feel a glow of proper pride in the part that he has played in holding fast the inner lines. May I say that I, personally, have always taken the deepest and most sympathetic interest in your work, and have noted, from time to time, the excellent results you have procured for the various departments of the Government. Now that this work has come to its conclusion and the name of the Four Minute Men (which I venture to hope will not be used henceforth by any similar organization) has become a part of the history of the great war, I would not willingly omit my heartfelt testimony to its great value to the country, and indeed to civilization as a whole, during our period of national trial and triumph. I shall always keep in memory the patriotic co-operation and assistance accorded me throughout this period and shall remain deeply and sincerely grateful to all who, like yourselves, have aided so nobly in the achievement of our aims.

Cordially and sincerely, yours,

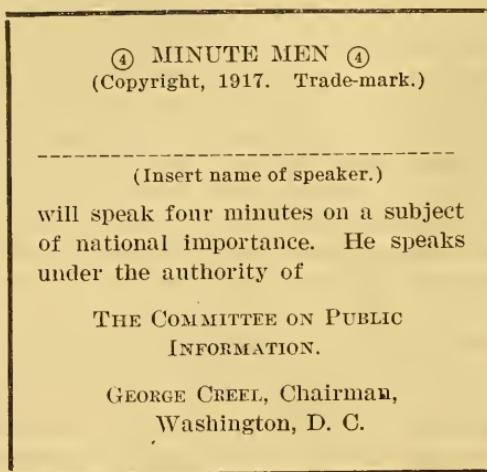
WOODROW WILSON.

From first to last, fully 75,000 speakers were used. The number of speeches made were 755,190 and a fair estimate of audiences makes it certain that a total of 314,454,514 people were addressed.

The idea of the Four Minute Men was originated by Mr. Donald Ryerson, of Chicago, who made the first Four Minute speech in a Chicago theater. Two days after the formation of the Committee on Public Information, Mr. Ryerson came to Mr. Creel, in Washington, who saw instantly the possibilities of the plan and straightway proceeded to put it upon a national basis under Government supervision. Under the original arrangement this statement of policy was issued:

The Four Minute Men is a specialized publicity service giving four-minute talks by local volunteers, introduced by a standard introduction slide furnished by the Government, in the intermission at motion-picture theaters in accordance with a single standard plan throughout the country.

At this time the following form of slide was adopted:



This same bulletin went on to define that all topics are of national importance connected with the war plans of the Government and are assigned by the department at Washington. Each campaign is of a stated length and is inaugurated by the delivery to the chairmen (1) of campaign instructions to themselves and (2) of a brief with a typical four-minute talk approved and released by the Committee on Public Information to be distributed to the speakers.

The talks are prepared by the individual speaker on the basis of the policy, points of emphasis, lines of argument, and general information contained in this bulletin on each subject. The aim is to preserve individuality and forcefulness of expression and yet confine the message absolutely to the four-minute limit and within the policy limits of the bulletin in order that the character of the original message formulated in Washington may not be lost in transmission through the speaker.

The speakers in every case received their authority and appointment from the chairmen of the local branches of the organization, who, in turn, were appointed through the State chairman or direct from headquarters at Washington. Each local chairman was registered at once in Washington.

The original method of organizing a local branch was as follows: The written indorsement of three prominent citizens—bankers, professional, or business men—written on their own stationery in a prescribed official form was required for the nomination of a local chairman. These indorsements were forwarded to headquarters in Washington, together with the proper form of application for authority to form a local branch with the privilege of representing the Government, in which application the number of speakers available was stated, in order that material might be forwarded promptly in case the application was approved.

Early in June, 1917, Mr. Ryerson, who had previously received a commission in the United States Navy and had secured two months' furlough in order to establish the organization, resigned from the Four Minute Men in order to enter the training school at Annapolis:

William McCormick Blair, of Chicago, became national director on June 16, and the work of organizing progressed swiftly. Mr. Blair appointed State chairmen immediately in a number of States, while the rest of the country was organized through the State councils of defense by writing directly to the governors of the various States, outlining the plan of organization and urging them to nominate State directors and to incorporate it in the work of their respective State councils.

The National Advisory Council was formed about this time, Mr. William H. Ingersoll, of New York, becoming the

first member. Prof. S. H. Clark and Samuel Hopkins Adams subsequently became members of the council, which in the fall of 1918 was greatly increased in membership.

The following is a complete list of bulletins issued from the original inception of the organization to the date of its official demobilization on December 24, 1918:

*Four Minute Men Bulletins, 1917-18.*

Bulletin No.	Topic.	Period.
1, 2	Universal Service by Selective Draft	May 12-21, 1917.
3, 4	First Liberty Loan	May 22-June 15, 1917.
5, 6	Red Cross	June 18-25, 1917.
7	Organization	
8, 9, 10	Food Conservation	July 1-14, 1917.
11	Why We Are Fighting	July 23-Aug. 5, 1917.
12	The Nation in Arms	Aug. 6-26, 1917.
13	The Importance of Speed	Aug. 19-26, 1917.
14	What Our Enemy Really Is	Aug. 27-Sept. 23, 1917.
15	Unmasking German Propaganda	Aug. 27-Sept. 23, 1917 (supplementary topic).
16	Onward to Victory	Sept. 24-Oct. 27, 1917.
17	Second Liberty Loan	Oct. 8-28, 1917.
18	Food Pledge	Oct. 29-Nov. 4, 1917.
19	Maintaining Morals and Morale	Nov. 12-25, 1917.
20	Carrying the Message	Nov. 26-Dec. 22, 1917.
21	War Savings Stamps	Jan. 2-19, 1918.
22	The Shipbuilder	Jan. 28-Feb. 9, 1918.
23	Eyes for the Navy	Feb. 11-16, 1918.
24	The Danger to Democracy	Feb. 18-Mar. 10, 1918.
25	Lincoln's Gettysburg Address	Feb. 12, 1918.
26	The Income Tax	Mar. 11-16, 1918.
27	Farm and Garden	Mar. 25-30, 1918.
28	President Wilson's Letter to Theaters	Mar. 31-Apr. 5, 1918.
29	Third Liberty Loan	Apr. 6-May 4, 1918.
7A	Organization	(Republished Apr. 23, 1918.)
30	Second Red Cross Campaign	May 18-25, 1918.
31	Danger to America	May 27-June 12, 1918.
32	Second War Savings Campaign	June 24-28, 1918.
33	The Meaning of America	June 29-July 27, 1918.
34	Mobilizing America's Man Power	July 29-Aug. 17, 1918.
36	Where Did You Get Your Facts?	Aug. 26-Sept. 7, 1918.
37	Certificates to Theater Members	Sept. 9-14, 1918.
38	Register	Sept. 5-12, 1918.
39	Four Minute Singing	For general use.
30	Fourth Liberty Loan	Sept. 28-Oct. 19, 1918.
41	Food Program for 1919	Changed to Dec. 1-7; finally canceled.
42	Fire Prevention	Oct. 27-Nov. 2, 1918.
43	United War Work Campaign	Nov. 3-18, 1918.
44	Red Cross Home Service	Dec. 7, 1918.
45	What Have We Won?	Dec. 8-14, 1918.
46	Red Cross Christmas Roll Call	Dec. 15-23, 1918.
47	A Tribute to the Allies	Dec. 24, 1918.

These bulletins were issued to the field workers and to associated individuals and official organizations in the following quantities:

*Statement of literature issued to the field.*

State.	Sept. 15, 1917.	Mar. 31, 1918.	Nov. 1, 1918.	State.	Sept. 15, 1917.	Mar. 31, 1918.	Nov. 1, 1918.
Alabama.....		675	2,806	Nevada.....	145	225	262
Alaska: Chairmen.....		540	447	New Mexico.....	75	255	410
Lodges.....			68	New York.....	1,180	4,280	5,784
Arizona.....	370	420	519	North Carolina.....	525	725	1,151
Arkansas.....	560	950	1,241	North Dakota.....	465	1,450	1,375
California.....	300	1,815	2,630	Ohio.....	890	2,170	3,007
Canal Zone.....		50	50	Oklahoma.....	25	1,375	1,424
Colorado.....	305	870	927	Oregon.....	160	760	815
Connecticut.....	425	650	1,252	Pennsylvania.....	50	6,530	9,057
Delaware.....	165	165	175	Porto Rico.....		15	500
District of Columbia.....	100	125	125	Rhode Island.....		270	179
Florida.....	370	560	2,155	South Carolina.....	380	540	529
Georgia.....	5	500	677	South Dakota.....	450	470	844
Hawaii.....		50	50	Tennessee.....	100	405	1,474
Idaho.....	275	455	689	Texas.....	835	1,245	1,600
Illinois.....	620	2,335	7,668	Utah.....	50	50	276
Indiana.....	685	1,890	1,936	Vermont.....	100	490	482
Iowa.....	540	2,275	3,140	Virginia.....		225	2,100
Kansas.....		1,945	3,093	Washington.....	180	1,384	2,125
Kentucky.....	340	645	1,376	West Virginia.....	235	780	1,425
Louisiana.....	100	225	733	Wisconsin.....	775	1,610	1,956
Maine.....	200	1,280	1,221	Wyoming.....	455	436	186
Maryland.....	100	260	893	Colleges.....			4,536
Massachusetts.....	875	1,135	1,225	San Francisco speakers.....			57
Michigan.....	550	1,250	1,879	Current list.....			568
Minnesota.....	355	2,120	2,027	New Hampshire grange.....			780
Mississippi.....	120	1,275	3,280	Maryland grange.....			172
Missouri.....	400	2,880	4,203	Vermont speakers.....			184
Montana.....	90	765	1,163	Connecticut grange.....			312
Nebraska.....	50	2,875	2,622	Vermont grange.....			398
New Hampshire.....	120	325	400	Total.....	15,675	58,390	97,340
New Jersey.....	580	1,395	2,197				

Approximate number of bulletins required on Nov. 23, 1918, 101,000.

#### ARMY BULLETINS.

At the request of the War Department bulletins similar to those published for the use of Four Minute Men were produced by national headquarters to be used by company commanders in many cantonments throughout the country in preparing short talks to their men on the causes and issues of the war.

The following campaigns of the kind were conducted to the complete satisfaction of the War Department as expressed in its official report on the subject:

1. Why We Are Fighting. January 2, 1918.
2. Insurance for Soldiers and Sailors. February 1, 1918.
3. Back of the Trenches. April 6, 1918.

Early in August the scope of the work was extended to reach other audiences besides those in motion-picture theaters. A church department of the Four Minute Men was organized in many of the local branches to present four-

minute speeches in churches, synagogues, and Sunday schools. The first church department was organized in New York City.

#### OTHER MEETINGS.

National arrangements had already been made to have speakers appear at the meetings of lodges, fraternal organizations, and labor unions and this work progressed swiftly. In most cases these speakers were selected from the membership of the organizations to whom they spoke.

Under the authority of State lecturers of granges, four-minute messages based upon the official bulletins were given also at all meetings of the granges in many States.

The work was next extended to reach the lumber camps of the country, some 500 organizations being formed in such communities. The work was also extended to cover Indian reservations.

#### WOMEN'S DIVISIONS.

About this time some of the States, acting under authority from headquarters, organized women's divisions to bring the messages of the Government to audiences at matinee performances in the motion-picture theaters, and to the members of women's clubs, and other similar organizations.

#### JUNIOR FOUR MINUTE MEN.

The Junior Four Minute Men movement commenced with a Junior War-Savings Stamps bulletin published for the State of Minnesota. Results were such that in March, 1918, a Junior War-Savings Stamps campaign was held for the rest of the country. Over a million and a half copies of the bulletin published for this campaign were sent out through the various State war-savings stamps committees, which distributed them to the schools.

The general plan was for the teacher to explain the subject, using the bulletin as a textbook, and the children then wrote their speeches and submitted them to the teacher or principal. The best were selected and delivered as speeches or were read. In a few cases extemporaneous talks were given.

There were many different ways of conducting these contests. Sometimes they were considered as a regular part of the school work and were held in the classroom with no outsiders present, but more often they were made special events, the entire school, together with parents and other visitors, being present.

Both boys and girls were eligible and the winners were given an official certificate from the Government, commissioning them as Four Minute speakers upon the specified topic of the contest.

Following the war savings stamps contest came the third Liberty loan contest of April 6 to May 4, 1917. A million copies of this bulletin were published and were sent directly to the schools from the stencils of the United States Bureau of Education in Washington. About 200,000 schools in all parts of the country were reached in this way. The same plan of distribution was used for the junior fourth Liberty loan contest and for the junior Red Cross Christmas roll call, and these two bulletins were published in connection with the School Service Bulletin which was then going out from the committee twice monthly to all schools on this list.

#### THEATER MEMBERS.

On September 9 a special bulletin (No. 36) was published, governing the presentation of certificates to the proper representatives of the motion-picture theaters in recognition of the patriotic service of granting to the Four Minute Men the exclusive privilege of speaking to their audiences, creating them theater members of the organization.

#### FOUR-MINUTE SINGING.

Prior to Mr. Blair's leaving, another innovation had been inaugurated in the decision to add four-minute singing to the work of the division. A bulletin (No. 38) of specially prepared songs was published on September 10 for general use, and instructions were issued to the chairmen to appoint song leaders to encourage the audiences of the motion-picture theaters in community singing.

## COLLEGE FOUR MINUTE MEN.

In September also college Four Minute Men were organized, under instructors acting as chairmen, to study the regular Four Minute Men bulletins and practice speaking upon the subjects thereof, each student being required to deliver at least one four-minute speech to the student body during the semester in addition to securing satisfactory credits, in order to qualify as a Four Minute Man. This work was organized in 153 colleges.

## JUNIOR BULLETINS.

A further development of the original field was the introduction of four-minute speaking contests in schools to decide which of the pupils were worthy to become Junior Four Minute Men on specific topics presented in bulletins similar to those used by the senior speakers.

This work was conducted on a national scale and was participated in by many millions of American school children in connection with each of the following four campaigns:

## JUNIOR FOUR MINUTE MEN CONTESTS.

1. War Savings Contest. March 11, 1918.
2. Third Liberty Loan Contest. April 6–May 4, 1918.
3. Fourth Liberty Loan Contest. September 28–October 19, 1918.
4. Red Cross Christmas Roll Call. December 2–20, 1918.

## NEWS BULLETINS.

To keep the thousands of separate organizations in touch with each other and with developments of the actual application of the work, six News Bulletins were published at intervals of about three months.

## PUBLICITY.

In addition to the messages brought to the people by means of the spoken word, the Four Minute Men secured for the Government publicity worth at least three-quarters of a million dollars.

Articles containing the pith of each bulletin were sent out from headquarters and released through local chairmen and publicity managers in thousands of communities for use in the local papers.

The average number of press clippings received at headquarters from a single clipping bureau, covering only the larger newspapers of the country, was 873 a month, or more than 15,000 during the 18-month life of the organization.

These clippings averaged certainly not less than 60 lines each, totaling 900,000 lines, which at a low rate for this type of publicity, if purchased, would have cost \$225,000.

Hundreds of newspapers mailed to headquarters from the smaller towns indicate that much larger space was consistently devoted to the Government messages in these places, while during the ban on public meetings due to the influenza epidemic newspapers in all parts of the country devoted sufficient space to carry daily four-minute messages prepared for them by members of the organization.

It is extremely conservative to estimate the total value of all this publicity at \$750,000.

#### ACCOMPLISHMENTS.

Exact reports, covering approximately one-half of the full activities of the organization, give a total of 505,190 speeches made to audiences totaling 202,454,514 people. This total does not cover the six campaigns from October 27, 1918, to the closing date of December 24, nor does it include the first campaigns from May 22 to October 27, 1917. At a very reasonable estimate, these first campaigns added 40,000,000 to the total audience reached and not less than 70,000 to the number of speeches delivered, while the final six campaigns added certainly not less than 72,000,000 to the total audience and 180,000 to the number of speeches. Adding these conservative estimates to the above incomplete reports, the following results are shown:

Number of speeches given-----	755, 190
Total audience-----	314, 454, 514

A very reasonable allowance for the considerable number of communities from which incomplete or no reports were received justifies an estimate of final totals of a million

speeches heard by four hundred million individuals during the 18-month life of the organization—an average of about 28,000 speeches, reaching more than 11,000,000 people, during each of the 36 distinct campaigns covered by the 46 bulletins.

COSTS.

OFFICIAL EXPENDITURES.

The amounts expended from presidential and congressional appropriations on behalf of the Four Minute Men from the commencement of the work in 1917 to the date of disbanding in December, 1918, were as follows:

	July, 1917— June, 1918.	July-Dec., 1918.	Totals.
Salaries.....	\$24,033.04	\$18,711.96	\$42,745.00
Printing.....	29,107.06	7,344.82	36,451.88
Slides.....	7,300.68	.....	7,300.68
Traveling.....	4,942.09	1,000.00	5,942.09
General.....	5,856.90	3,258.55	9,115.45
Total.....	71,239.77	30,315.33	101,555.10

(July to December, 1918, figures partly estimated, as business division is unable to give figures after September 30, 1918. Old fiscal year figures subject to change, as bills are still coming in.)

CONTRIBUTED EXPENDITURES.

In addition to the foregoing, large sums have been expended from July, 1917, to December, 1918, from private sources and public subscriptions in the maintenance of the offices of State directors and local chairmen, and by the individual speakers in their travels to and from places of speaking and in their incidental expenses. These expenses have been recorded exactly wherever possible, and in other cases have been estimated very carefully from accurate data.

Actual expenses of State director's offices.....	\$177,090
Expenses of local chairmen's offices; estimated at \$10 monthly for the known average number of chairmen (4,422 averaged over the entire 18-month period).....	795,960
Expenses of individual speakers, averaging 10 speakers to the chairman and allowing for each speaker \$2 monthly for all traveling and incidental expenses.....	1,591,920
Total of contributed expenses.....	2,564,970

Thus the estimated amounts expended from voluntary contributions were more than 25 times the expenditures from the official appropriations.

## SUMMARY.

It is impossible to set an adequate monetary valuation upon services contributed so graciously and so patriotically as were those of all the Four Minute Men, the motion-picture theaters, newspapers, churches, granges, lodges, labor unions, and other agencies which have furthered this work. The following attempt is made merely with a view to visualizing in some concrete and tangible form the material value of this work in relation to the actual cost thereof to the Government.

It would not be reasonable to set a lower valuation than \$4 on the delivery of a four-minute speech, requiring the most painstaking and exact preparation and unusual skill in condensation and forcefulness of delivery. Indeed, this sum is ridiculously small, but because of its numerical appropriateness let it be taken as a basis of valuation, in addition, of course, to the actual expenses of the speakers.

Not with any suggestion of undervaluing the inestimable cooperation of the theaters and other places in which speeches were delivered, but rather, with a view to the most thorough conservatism, we will estimate a "rental value" for the delivery of each speech at one-half the speakers' rate.

The expenses of the various offices and individuals on the number of speeches, and also on the value of publicity generously contributed by the press, have been recorded above. A summary of all these items gives the following estimated valuation:

Official expenditures (headquarters)-----	\$101,555.10
Contributed expenditures-----	2,564,970.00
One million speeches at \$4 each-----	4,000,000.00
"Rent" of theaters, etc., to deliver above-----	2,000,000.00
Speeches (331) of traveling speakers-----	8,275.00
Publicity contributed by press-----	750,000.00
Grand total-----	9,424,800.10

Thus it appears that the investment of a sum of little more than \$100,000 in this war-emergency agency has procured for the Government services and patriotic contributions to a conservatively estimated total of nearly 95 times as much.

In the fall of 1918 Mr. Blair entered an officers' training camp, and his place was taken by Mr. William H. Ingersoll, a member of the Advisory Council since 1917.

## THE SPEAKING DIVISION.

The Speaking Division owed its establishment to the need for some organization to act as a clearing house for national speaking campaigns. By the beginning of September, 1917, more than a dozen national speakers' bureaus were being conducted by Government departments and by associations which were seeking to promote the national interest. Scores of State speaking campaigns were being inaugurated under the auspices of councils of defense and other organizations. All these were competing for speakers, in danger of duplicating each others' activities, and failing to coordinate their efforts in an effective and comprehensive campaign. There was a need of some central clearing house in Washington through which these various organizations, working for a great common purpose, but each with its special message, could be brought into touch with the affairs and facilities of other departments, and given the inspiration and information which came from the vital national interests involved.

In consideration of these needs, the Speaking Division of the Committee on Public Information was brought into being on September 25, 1917, through the approval of the President, given in the following letter:

MY DEAR MR. CREEL:

I heartily approve of the suggestion you have made that through your committee some effort be made to coordinate the work of the various bureaus, departments, and agencies interested in presenting from the platform various phases of the national task. With the cooperation of the departments, the Food Administration, the Council of National Defense, and the Committee on Public Information, it would seem possible to enlist the many State and private organizations who have put the Nation's cause above every other issue and stand ready to participate in a speaking campaign that shall give to the people that fullness of information which will enable and inspire each citizen to play intelligently his part in the greatest and most vital struggle ever undertaken by self-governing nations.

Your suggestion of Mr. Arthur E. Bestor, president of Chautauqua Institution, to direct this work is excellent. You are fortunate to be able to enlist one who has been so intimately connected with a great American educational institution devoted to popular instruction without prejudice or partisanship.

Cordially and sincerely yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

Certain general policies were followed from the very beginning with such modifications as from time to time became necessary. It was *not* the purpose of the division to attempt to combine the speakers' bureaus of the several departments or private organizations, nor to assume any responsibility for supervision over them, but rather to establish a bureau to coordinate their efforts where they related to common aims or activities. It *was* the purpose to seek cooperation among these speakers' bureaus by agreement and consultation; to offer a national clearing house for speaking campaigns; to avoid duplication of effort and overlapping of territory; and to supply speakers with usable information from Government departments; to concentrate the attention of speakers during special periods upon different national needs; and to foster in all speakers a sense of the unity of the national purpose. There was never an attempt to control and supervise the speaking of the country—the problem was one of cooperation and coordination.

A card catalogue of over 10,000 speakers and makers of public opinion was eventually gathered and a select list of 300 effective speakers. Whenever a request was made for an individual address a list was prepared of those available for such service. This resulted in many appointments being made by organizations direct with speakers recommended by the division.

While aid was given to every organization that requested it, direct relationship was constantly kept up with the following organizations: Treasury Department (for the three Liberty loans), Department of Labor, Council of National Defense, United States Food Administration, American Red Cross, Friends of German Democracy, American Alliance for Labor and Democracy, National Committee on the Churches and the Moral Aims of the War. Relations were established with many national organizations which had organized audiences, such as the United States Chamber of Commerce, International Association of Rotary Clubs, Advertising Clubs of the World, Open Forum National Council, League to Enforce Peace, and various bureaus conducting circuit chautauquas. The International Lyceum Association held a very successful Conference for American Lecturers in Washington whose

program was largely arranged through Mr. Creel's personal approach to officials of our own and to allied Governments.

The division kept in touch with all these organizations through bimonthly bulletins, conferences, and correspondence, and was thus able at all times to have knowledge of the patriotic campaigns which were being carried on in the country.

In January, 1918, a service of speakers bulletins was inaugurated, which supplied approximately 15,000 makers of public opinion with various governmental publications. In order not to duplicate the work so admirably done by the Four Minute Men, it was decided after the third issue to utilize the bulletins of the Four Minute Men and other governmental agencies. The following bulletins were issued together with various publications of the committee:

No. 1. "Purpose and Scope of the Work of the Speaking Division."

No. 2. "Hints for Speakers—The Issues of the War at a Glance," accompanied by publications of the Committee on Public Information as follows:

- How the War Came to America.
- The War Message and the Facts Behind it.
- The Nation in Arms.
- The Government of Germany.
- The Great War: from Spectator to Participant.

No. 3. "Ships, Ships, and yet More Ships—The Nation's Greatest Need," accompanied by the War Encyclopedia issued by the Committee on Public Information. This bulletin was issued in cooperation with the United States Shipping Board.

No. 4. Letter transmitting Four Minute Bulletin No. 24 "The Danger to Democracy" and the pamphlet "Conquest and Kultur" issued by the Committee on Public Information.

No. 5. Letter transmitting the Four Minute Bulletin on the Third Liberty Loan issued in cooperation with the Treasury Department.

In cooperation with the States Relations Division of the Council of National Defense speaking organizations were created under the State councils of defense in all of the States except New York and Delaware. Upon recommendation of the division, in connection with many State speakers' bureaus, there was organized a committee in which the following interests were represented:

- State Council of Defense.
- State Division of the Woman's Committee.

Extension Division, Department of Agriculture.

State Department of Education.

Extension Division of the State University.

State Department of Labor.

State Community Organizer.

Chairman Four Minute Men.

Federal Food Administrator.

Federal Fuel Administrator.

Patriotic Societies which have carried on effective speaking campaigns or have ready-made audiences.

It was possible therefore to route national speakers on short notice and put them into communities and before audiences where they could be most effective. This decentralization of the work meant that responsibility was put upon the State officials who knew intimately of local needs and who had in Washington an organization in touch with all speaking campaigns.

District conferences to plan war conferences and more effective organization were held by officers of the Speaking Division and the States Relations Division, with representatives of the State councils of defense as follows: Washington, November 10, 1917, for Pennsylvania and the South Atlantic States; Chicago, November 17, 1917, for the Middle Western States; Birmingham, February 15, 1918, for the Southern States; and Boston, April 1, 1918, for New Jersey and the New England States.

In cooperation with the States Relations Division of the Council of National Defense and under the direct auspices of the State councils of defense, there were held 45 War Conferences in 37 States, and in addition, local conferences were held in four cities in Arizona and five cities in Utah. These War Conferences brought together all the effective war workers in the State, usually occupied two days, and in addition to the general meetings addressed by the speakers sent out by the division, there were sectional conferences held by Federal and State officials who were carrying on war work. These War Conferences were oftentimes the greatest gatherings held within the States during the war. They had a profound effect upon public opinion and upon the efficient organization of State war work. Usually the State-wide conferences were followed by county and town conferences of the same character. A list of the War Con-

ferences, with the speakers furnished by the division, is as follows:

December 5-6, Richmond, Va.:

Secretary Newton D. Baker, Hon. Henry J. Allen, George F. Porter, and Arthur E. Bestor.

December 6-7, Columbia, S. C.:

Hon. Henry J. Allen and Dr. J. A. B. Scherer.

December 13-14, Indianapolis, Ind.:

Vice President Marshall, George Creel, Medill McCormick, Lieut. Paul Perigord, and Arthur E. Bestor.

December 14-15, Des Moines, Iowa.

December 17-18, Philadelphia, Pa.:

Secretary William G. McAdoo, Lieut. Paul Perigord, and Arthur E. Bestor.

December 20, Little Rock, Ark.

January 14-15, Chicago, Ill.; 15-16, Louisville, Ky.; 16-17, Columbia, Mo.; 17-18, Topeka, Kans.; 18-19, Lincoln, Nebr.:

Sir Frederick E. Smith, Solicitor General John W. Davis, Dr. George E. Vincent, and Arthur E. Bestor.

February 20, Lansing, Mich.; 22, Sioux Falls, S. Dak.:

Hon. Crawford Vaughan and Prof. Thomas F. Moran.

February 24, St. Paul, Minn.:

Hon. Joseph C. Grew and Prof. Thomas F. Moran.

February 25, Bismarck, N. Dak.:

Hon. Joseph C. Grew, Prof. Thomas F. Moran, and Charles Edward Russell.

February 26, Aberdeen, S. Dak.:

Hon. Joseph C. Grew and Prof. Thomas F. Moran.

March 11, Oklahoma City, Okla.; 12, Dallas, Tex.; 13, Houston, Tex.; 14, Shreveport, La.; 15, Jackson, Miss.; 16, New Orleans, La.; 18, Birmingham, Ala.; 19, Atlanta, Ga.; 21, Tampa, Fla.; 22, Jacksonville, Fla.; 23, Columbia, S. C.:

Secretary David F. Houston, Lieut. Paul Perigord, and Prof. Thomas F. Moran.

May 7-8, Denver, Colo.; 9-10, Albuquerque, N. Mex.; 10-11, El Paso, Tex.; 11, Phoenix, Ariz.; 13-14, Los Angeles, Calif.; 14-15, San Francisco, Calif.; 16-17, Reno, Nev.; 17-18, Salt Lake City, Utah; 20-21, Boise, Idaho; 22-23, Portland, Oreg.; 24-25, Seattle, Wash.; 27-28, Spokane, Wash.; 28-29, Helena, Mont.:

Lieut. Paul Perigord, Prof. Guy Stanton Ford, and George B. Chandler.

May 7, Trenton, N. J.:

Maj. Laughlin McLean Watt, Maj. Rutledge Smith, Senator J. Hamilton Lewis, and Arthur E. Bestor.

May 8, Portland, Me.; 9, Concord, N. H.; 10, Montpelier, Vt.; 11, Hartford, Conn.:

Hon. Frederick D. Walcott, Maj. Laughlin McLean Watt, Maj. Rutledge Smith, and Arthur E. Bestor.

The most extensive work of the division was the handling of national speakers and routing through the country representatives of our own Government and of our Allies. No salaries were paid any speakers and no payment made for individual addresses except traveling expenses, which were sometimes borne by the division and oftentimes by the State or local organization for whom they spoke. The most distinguished speakers in America were among those who gave their services on this basis. The division worked in close co-operation with the British War Mission, the French High Commission, the Italian Embassy, the Belgian Legation, as well as with the various departments of the United States Government.

Among officials of our own Government for whom appointments were made were Vice President Marshall; Secretaries Baker, Lane, McAdoo, Houston, and Redfield; Solicitor General John W. Davis; Senators Kenyon and Nelson; Congressman Albert Sidney Johnson; Col. Clarence Ousley and Carl Vrooman, Assistant Secretaries of Agriculture; Hon. Joseph E. Grew; Hon. Gaillard Hunt and Hon. Wesley Frost, of the Department of State; Hon. F. C. Walcott; Dr. Vernon Kellogg; Maj. W. L. Brown, Dr. Henry J. Waters, and Dr. Henry C. Culbertson, of the Food Administration; and Dr. Anna Shaw and Miss Ida Tarbell, of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense.

In cooperation with the British War Mission, engagements were made for Sir Frederick E. Smith, the British Attorney General; Sir Walter Lawrence, Sir George Adam Smith, Gen. H. D. Swinton, Col. A. C. Murray, Maj. Ian Hay Beith, Lieut. Hector MacQuarrie, Hon. Harald Smith, Maj. Robert Massie, and Maj. Laughlin McLean Watt.

The French High Commission placed at the disposal of the division Lieut. Paul Perigord for seven months' service, and appointments were also made for M. de Billy, M. Maurice Casenave, and Lieut. Wierzbicke.

Speaking engagements were also arranged for Lieut. Bruno Roselli, of the Italian Embassy.

In cooperation with the Friends of German Democracy, Mr. Henry Riesenborg made 27 addresses in 19 States; Dr. Frank Bohn, 9 addresses in 3 States; Dr. William H. Bohn,

26 addresses in 3 States; Dr. Karl Mathie, 18 addresses in 2 States; and Prof. A. E. Koenig, 9 addresses.

The American Alliance for Labor and Democracy were furnished many speakers, but most the engagements were made direct.

Lieut. Paul Perigord, loaned to the division for seven months by the French High Commission, made 152 addresses under the auspices of the division in all parts of the country. Probably no speaker heard in America aroused more enthusiasm.

Lieut. Hector MacQuarrie, through the cooperation of the British War Mission, gave 93 addresses in four months in 9 States, and everywhere was a most effective speaker for the allied cause.

Hon. Crawford Vaughan, ex-premier of South Australia, a noted labor leader, was brought across the continent by the division, spoke at several of the War Conferences, and gave in all 22 addresses under the auspices of the division until he became connected with the United States Shipping Board.

Capt. Raould Amundsen, who had had unusual opportunities to observe the American troops at the front, made a tour in March and April, speaking 13 times in 6 States with particular success before Scandinavian audiences.

Hon. Wesley Frost, former consul at Queenstown, and the official reporter of 81 submarine sinkings, created profound sensation in his transcontinental tours, and from September to February gave 63 addresses in 29 States for the Speaking Division.

Charles Edward Russell, a member of the President's Commission to Russia, who was particularly effective before labor audiences, gave 58 addresses from October to February in all parts of the country.

Congressman Albert Johnson, just back from the front, delivered 19 addresses in 9 States from December to February.

In conjunction with the Four Minute Men, Prof. S. H. Clark delivered 19 addresses in 4 of the Western States in March and April.

Among others for whom the division made speaking engagements are the following: Prof. Guy Stanton Ford, Dr. Mitchell Carroll, George B. Chandler, Maj. Rutledge Smith,

Mary Antin, Dr. George E. Vincent, Prof. J. S. P. Tatlock, Dr. Hugh Birkhead, Richard D. Hollington, Justice S. Harrison White, Dr. T. Alexander Cairns, Dr. James Sullivan, Judge A. D. Dabney, Capt. J. M. de Beaufort, William Forkell, Prof. Bertram Nelson, Dr. E. Y. Mullins, Judge Clarence W. Goodwin, Sergt. Bernard S. Wolff, Felix M. Warburg, Dr. D. F. Garland, Dr. George E. Raiguel, William B. Guthrie, Bishop William F. McDowell, James Hugh Keeley, Col. Thomason, Miss Jane Addams, Dr. J. A. B. Scherer.

Inasmuch as the division had relations with State councils of defense in practically all the States and with various organizations like the chambers of commerce, rotary clubs, and others that had ready-made audiences, the division came more and more to be the organization to handle tours for patriotic purposes which were other than merely speaking tours. The French Blue Devils were routed under the auspices of the division and the 344 Belgian soldiers returning from Russia were brought across the continent by the division. The 50 American soldiers sent by Gen. Pershing to aid in the third Liberty loan were, at the conclusion of that loan, routed by the division for one month and heard in practically all of the States.

An extensive trip through the South was arranged for the Marquis and Marquise de Courtivron and the Marquis and Marquise de Polignac, accompanied by Mr. Charles Edward Russell.

Mr. Arthur E. Bestor, president of Chautauqua Institution, and from May until September, 1917, chairman of the committee of lecturers and entertainments in training camps for the Young Men's Christian Association War Council, was Director of the Speaking Division from its organization, September 25, 1917, until its consolidation with the Four Minute Division, September 1, 1918. From September until May he delivered 53 addresses under the auspices of the division.

Mr. J. J. Pettijohn, director of the extension division of Indiana University and head of the Indiana State Speakers' Bureau, became associate director of the division on May 6, 1918, and from June was in active charge in the absence of Mr. Bestor, until the consolidation of the division with

the Four Minute Men, when he became the associate director of that division. His wide experience in popular education and his ability as an organizer were of great value to the division in the last months of its separate organization.

Prof. Thomas F. Moran, of Purdue University, was loaned to the division by that institution for service from January to April. His ability as a writer and speaker was used to great advantage in the editing of the bulletins and in addresses before the Southern War Conferences and individual addresses before many audiences, 34 in all.

Mr. W. Frank McClure, publicity director of the Redpath Bureau, Chicago, was loaned by that organization to the division for the month of November. He performed a very useful service in organizing the publicity machinery for the committee.

#### DIVISION OF PICTORIAL PUBLICITY.

One of the first realizations of the Committee on Public Information was the importance of pictorial publicity in building morale, arousing the spiritual forces of the Nation, and stimulating the war will of the people. It was not only that America needed posters, but it needed the *best posters ever drawn*. To this end the Division of Pictorial Publicity was created on April 17, 1917, and the following organization formed to mobilize the art forces of the United States:

*Chairman*.—Charles Dana Gibson.

*Vice chairman and secretary*.—F. D. Casey.

*Associate chairmen*.—Herbert Adams, E. H. Blashfield, Ralph Clarkson, Cass Gilbert, Oliver D. Grover, Francis Jones, Arthur F. Matthews, Joseph Pennell, Edmond Tarbell, Douglas Volk.

*Executive committee*.—F. G. Cooper, N. Pousette-Dart, I. Doskow, F. E. Dayton, C. B. Falls, Albert E. Gallatin, Ray Greenleaf, Miss Malvina Hoffman, W. A. Rogers, Lieut. Henry Reuterdahl, U. S. N. R. F.; H. Scott Train, H. D. Welsh, J. Thompson Willing, H. T. Webster, Walter Whitehead, Jack Sheridan.

*Departmental captains*.—C. B. Falls, H. T. Webster, Walter Whitehead, Ray Greenleaf, I. Doskow, N. Pousette-Dart, H. Scott Train.

Enlisting for the duration of the war, as members of the division, American painters, sculptors, designers, postmen, illustrators, and cartoonists volunteered their artistic services to the Government, and worked together under the chairman-

ship of Mr. Gibson, with headquarters at No. 200 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

To increase the scope of the committee and to stimulate the personal interest of the artists outside of New York, sectional branches were formed, and Oliver Dennett Grover, of Chicago, became the chairman of the Western Committee, Mr. E. Tarbell and Mr. Arthur F. Matthews taking charge in Boston and San Francisco.

The full contribution of the artists of America to the national cause, as well as the reliance placed upon the Division of Pictorial Publicity by every department of Government, is shown by the following record of achievement:

	Poster designs.	Car, bus, and window cards.	News-paper and other advertising.	Cartoons.	Seals, buttons, banners, etc.
American Red Cross, Washington and New York.....	100	25	100	50	.....
War savings stamps.....	50	50	25	50	.....
Liberty Loan (third).....	3	10	15	.....	.....
Liberty Loan (fourth).....	100	.....	25	.....	.....
Shipping Board.....	100	.....	.....	8	1
American Library Association.....	7	.....	43	.....	.....
War Camp Community Service.....	101	2	3	.....	1
Ordnance Department.....	18	1	15	1	4
Training Camp Activities.....	10	1	3	10	.....
Food Administration.....	50	15	10	50	.....
Fuel Administration.....	25	10	.....	23	.....
Department of Agriculture.....	11	.....	.....	1	1
War Department.....	11	.....	.....	.....	1
Public Health Service.....	14	6	3	.....	.....
Young Men's Christian Association.....	6	.....	7	.....	.....
Young Women's Christian Association.....	6	.....	7	.....	.....
Signal Corps.....	4	.....	3	15	.....
Signal Corps, Aviation.....	1	.....	2	.....	1
Division of Films.....	33	.....	4	.....	1
Committee of Patriotic Societies.....	.....	.....	3	.....	2
Turner Construction Co.....	.....	.....	.....	20	.....
United States Boys Working Reserve.....	5	1	2	7	.....
Committee on National Defense.....	.....	1	.....	.....	3
Western Newspaper Union.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....
War Risk Insurance.....	2	.....	2	1	.....
Committee on Public Information.....	4	.....	6	5	.....
Division of Advertising.....	11	.....	10	3	1
Squad A, Magazine Gun.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Mothers' Day.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Chain Stores.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Food for France.....	3	.....	.....	.....	.....
Department of Labor.....	6	.....	.....	.....	1
Department of Interior.....	2	.....	1	.....	1
United States Tank Corps.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Salvation Army.....	5	.....	.....	.....	.....
Treasure and Trinket Fund.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Boy Scouts.....	3	.....	9	.....	1
Jewish Welfare.....	5	.....	1	.....	.....
Trades for Disabled Soldiers.....	6	.....	2	.....	.....
Railroad Administration.....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....
Motor Corps.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Southern Pine Association.....	1	.....	.....	1	.....
Federation of Neighborhood Associations.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Office of Chief of Staff.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
International Arms & Fuse Co.....	1	.....	.....	.....	14
Bastile Day .....	3	.....	.....	.....	.....

	Poster designs.	Car, bus, and window cards.	News-paper and other advertising.	Cartoons.	Seals, buttons, banners, etc.
Marine Corps.....	5				
Fifth Avenue Association.....	2				
American Poets Committee.....	2				
Federal Food Board.....			3		
Rehabilitating Wounded Soldiers.....			2	2	1
Dewey Recreation Committee.....	1				
Italian War Work.....				1	
Mayor's Committee.....	1				
Official Bulletin.....	1				
Phonograph Recruiting Records.....	3			25	
Connecticut Defense Council.....	1				
Pelham Naval Station.....			1	1	
United War Work Campaign.....	5				

## RECAPITULATION.

Departments and committees requesting work.....	58
Poster designs submitted.....	700
Cards requested.....	122
Newspaper and other advertising.....	310
Cartoons submitted.....	287
Seals, buttons, etc., executed.....	19
Total material (drawings, designs, etc.).....	1,438

In addition to the above, Lieut. Henry Reuterdahl and N. C. Wyeth worked on a painting 90 feet long, 25 feet high, which was placed at the Subtreasury Building for the third Liberty loan. Lieut. Reuterdahl made also three paintings, each over 20 feet, for the publicity of the fourth Liberty loan in Washington, D. C.

During the United War Work Campaign the same plan was followed, seven artists painting on days assigned, in front of the Public Library, two others assigned in front of the Metropolitan Museum. This work was carried on by a committee of this division. These artists were:

- F. D. Steele, Young Men's Christian Association.
- Middleton Chambers, Knights of Columbus.
- C. B. Falls, Salvation Army.
- I. Olinsky, Jewish Welfare.
- Denman Fink, Library Association.
- Jean McLane, Young Woman's Christian Association.
- Howard Giles, War Camp Community Service.
- Charles Chapman and Luis Mora, Metropolitan Museum.

An Allied War Salon, under the direction of Mr. Albert Eugene Gallatin, appointed by Mr. Charles Dana Gibson, to further the cause of pictorial propaganda and to acquaint

our people with the extent of our military and naval preparations, was held at the American Art Galleries from December 9 to 24. A feature of this salon was the 200 drawings by the artists officially attached to our armies in France.

All of the above mentioned work was gratuitously offered by and through the Division of Pictorial Publicity.

Too great credit can not be given to Mr. Gibson and to Mr. Casey for inspired leadership and tireless enthusiasm.

When Gen. Pershing cabled for the services of eight artists, the question of picking the proper men was placed in the hands of the Division of Pictorial Publicity.

Besides the work of procuring drawings, this division has also arranged complete exhibitions of American posters in such places as the Corcoran Art Gallery, in Washington; the Academy of Fine Arts, of Philadelphia; the Art Institute, of Chicago; the Brooklyn Academy, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Aeolin Hall, Brooklyn; the Woman's Committee, East Orange, N. J.; the National Arts Club, of New York City; Taft Hotel, New Haven, Conn.; the Graphic Arts Society, New York City; and the Philadelphia Sketch Club, Philadelphia.

#### THE DIVISION OF ADVERTISING.

I hereby create, under the jurisdiction of the Committee on Public Information, heretofore established by Executive order of April 14, 1917, a Division of Advertising for the purpose of receiving and directing through the proper channels the generous offers of the advertising forces of the Nation to support the effort of the Government to inform public opinion properly and adequately.

WOODROW WILSON.

By virtue of this authority, the advertising forces of the United States were mobilized, and the great organizations, by request, named these men to serve as a board of control: Mr. William H. Johns, chairman, president of the American Association of Advertising Agencies, representing 115 leading firms of this kind in the country; Mr. Thomas Cusack, the acknowledged head of the poster and painted bulletin industry; Mr. W. C. D'Arcy, president of the Associated Advertising Clubs of the World, representing 180 advertising clubs with a combined membership of 17,000; Mr. O. C. Harn, chairman of the National Commission of the

Associated Advertising Clubs of the World; Mr. Herbert S. Houston, formerly president of the Associated Advertising Clubs of the World; Mr. Lewis B. Jones, president of the Association of National Advertisers; and Mr. Jesse H. Neal, executive secretary of the Associated Business Papers, consisting of 500 leading trade and technical publications.

Over 800 publishers of monthly and weekly periodicals gave space, worth \$159,275.64 per month, for the duration of the war and this was being increased monthly when the armistice terminated the arrangement. In addition, advertisers of merchandise purchased \$340,981.21 worth of space in various nationally-circulated periodicals and turned this space over to the Division of Advertising to use for Government purposes. These were definite purchases for 1918, but indications had already been given that renewals would follow in 1919. Figuring on a yearly basis, the donation of space only has totaled approximately \$2,250,000. Of this, only about \$1,594,000 was used, owing to the sudden cessation of activities.

Following summarizes in total all space with which the Division of Advertising has dealt—all contributed by patriotic advertisers and publishers for the winning of the war:

	Insertions.	Circulation.	Amount.
General magazines.....	1,512	351,409,159	\$895,108.29
Farm papers.....	1,443	134,279,895	361,221.84
Trade and miscellaneous publications.....	4,353	41,377,554	238,102.47
House organs.....	831	14,386,475	52,727.50
Outdoor display.....	7		8,550.00
Newspapers.....	653	6,272,636	17,567.60
College papers.....	377	1,107,429	12,337.01
Book jackets.....	116	.....	<sup>1</sup> 7,700.00
Theater curtains.....	75	.....	1,500.00
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>9,367</b>	<b>548,833,148</b>	<b>1,594,814.71</b>

<sup>1</sup> Estimated.

Also much space in advertisers' own publications was devoted to Government work in a similar manner, but as such space is not sold, a market value can not be put upon it. Miscellaneous donations of space included space in merchants' local newspaper advertising and local advertising through syndicated advertising service. We are unable to include in our reported figures, though it has been of great value, outdoor advertising in both poster and painted signs,

totaling many thousands of dollars. Nor do these figures indicate the advertising values contributed by window displays. This feature was made possible by the intelligent co-operation of the International Association of Display Men. This organization appointed a National War Service Committee on Window Displays, the chairman of which, Mr. C. J. Potter, took a desk in the New York offices of the Division of Advertising and not only turned over to the division the entire window display resources of the association in 600 cities, but directed the entire work of creating patriotic window displays throughout the country so that, timed to the minute, they supplemented our campaigns in the periodicals. The window display committee was instrumental in the building of 60,000 reported displays on various Government subjects, and probably hundreds more unreported.

At the very top of the list of those who gave freely of their time and of the services of their expert employees stand the advertising agents of the country. Their services were offered without reserve and without charge, even much of the finished work being furnished free of cost.

The Division of Advertising planned and handled campaigns for the following agencies of the Government: Shipping Board, War Savings, Food Commission, the Liberty Loans, War Department, Training Camp Activities, Department of Agriculture, Council of National Defense, Department of Labor, Fuel Commission, United War Work Drive, and the Red Cross. It was this division that conceived the idea and prepared the drawing and copy for "The Greatest Mother in the World," since used as the Red Cross symbol. As an illustration of the manner in which this division handled a campaign, the case of the selective draft may be described in detail. Gen. Crowder laid his problem before the experts, explaining the need of a concentrated drive in obtaining registration on September 12 of 13,000,000 men, 18 to 45 years of age. The Advertising Service Bulletin and the Selective Service Register, folders containing advertisements, were prepared by the Division of Advertising through the cooperation of its committees. The Advertising Bulletin furnished newspapers and advertisers with officially approved copy in both editorial and advertising form ready

to run. This material was extensively used throughout the country by newspapers and by advertisers in their local advertising. The Selective Service Register contained officially signed messages as to the duty of registration from President Wilson, Secretary Baker, Gen. Crowder, Secretary Daniels, and Gen. March, and was published to help 13,000,000 men to know how, when, and where to register. It contained poster of notification of registration and explicit directions of how to answer questions on registration card. Also instructions for registrars. Special mailings of these publications were produced and distributed through the Division of Distribution to the extent of some 20,000,000 copies, including 18,000 newspapers, 11,000 national advertisers and agencies, 10,000 chambers of commerce and their members, 30,000 manufacturers' associations, 22,000 labor unions, 10,000 public libraries, 32,000 banks, 58,000 general stores, 3,500 Young Mens' Christian Association branches, 10,000 members of the Council of National Defense, 1,000 advertising clubs, 56,000 post offices, 55,000 railroad station agents, 5,000 draft boards, 100,000 Red Cross organizations, 12,000 manufacturers' agents. Also there was a special mailing card sent out to a list of 43,000 Rural Free Delivery routes.

Also there was planned a street-car campaign which ran throughout the country, including space in the Subway Sun and Elevated Express in all cars of the Interborough Rapid Transit Co., of New York City. A poster and painted-sign campaign was also planned and displayed throughout the country.

Through the services of the National War Service Committee on Window Displays approximately 37,000 posters or notices to register were displayed in the windows of prominent stores in over 600 cities.

A full-page advertisement of the Selective Registration Day appeared in publications of general circulation, including leading farm publications, practically all of the trade and technical journals.

This excerpt from an appreciation by Gen. Crowder is an example of the many that were sent to the division by heads of the Government:

Now that the rush of registration preparation has abated, I take the first available moment to express to you and your division my

gratitude for your hearty cooperation in the task of securing publicity for the Registration Day.

Over and above the fine organization of the committee's staff as a whole, what has impressed me particularly in your division is the thoroughness with which you have organized the patriotic assistance of private citizens in contributing to the public service rendered by the committee. It is genuinely American in its method—this voluntary union of individual citizens to accomplish these results which in some Continental countries are left to the vast army of Government officials.

Yours faithfully,

E. H. CROWDER,  
*Provost Marshal General.*

#### FILM DIVISION.

At the very outset the Committee on Public Information made the decision that the three great agencies of appeal in the fight for public opinion were: The Written Word, the Spoken Word, and the Motion Picture. Even as the speaking forces and the writers of the Nation were mobilized, so were steps taken in the very first days to utilize every resource of the camera.

In the beginning the Film Division contented itself with taking the war material made by the Signal Corps, at home and abroad, and distributing it fairly, and at a nominal price, to the weekly film services for distribution. Expert camera men were also employed with the production of feature pictures to be distributed by the various patriotic societies, and State councils of defense, in such manner as to avoid competition with the commercial motion picture industry. Among the early pictures thus produced were:

The 1917 Recruit, 2 editions (training of the National Army).

The Second Liberty Loan.

Ready for the Fight (Artillery and Cavalry maneuvers).

Soldiers of the Sea (Marine Corps in training).

Torpedo Boat Destroyers (naval maneuvers).

Submarines.

Army and Navy Sports.

The Spirit of 1917 (the largest maneuver staged in America; an attack by the Jackies at Lake Bluff upon Fort Sheridan, Ill.).

In a Southern Camp (general Army maneuvers).

The Lumber Jack (showing the growth of the Lumber Jack Regiment for reconstruction work in Europe).

The Medical Officers' Reserve Corps in Action (showing the development of the Medical Corps and training).

Fire and Gas (showing maneuvers of the new Thirtieth Engineer Regiment).

American Ambulances (complete display of ambulance work).

Labor's Part in Democracy's War (labor-union activities in the war).

Annapolis (naval officers in the making).

Ship Building (construction of all types of ships).

Making of Big Guns.

Making of Small Arms.

Making of Uniforms for the Soldiers.

Activities of the Engineers.

Woman's Part in the War.

Men Who Are Doing Things (portraying upon the screen, as far as possible, every person who is mentioned in public print as being active in war preparations).

The Conquest of the Air (airplane and balloon maneuvers).

These pictures were not put in motion-picture theaters, except when especially engaged for the purposes of some war benefit; they were shown free, except when used for such benefits. As time went on, however, it was seen that this method of distribution not only put an unnecessary burden of expense upon the Government, but that it was failing absolutely to place the pictorial record of America's war progress before more than a small percentage of the motion-picture audiences of the world. The growth of the Signal Corps' great photographic section was producing an enormous amount of material, both in the United States and France, possessed of the very highest propaganda value, and for purposes of 100 per cent utilization, the policies of the Film Division were subjected to a radical reorganization under Mr. Charles S. Hart. Great feature films, like Pershing's Crusaders, America's Answer, and Under Four Flags, were made, given impressive showings under governmental auspices in the larger cities, and then distributed under an equitable commercial arrangement that returned to the Government the full cost of production.

England, France, and Italy were drawn into partnership with us, and an Official War Review, issued weekly, carried to every part of the world a weekly presentation of the fighting on every front, and the story of each nation's efforts and determinations.

The congressional appropriation for the work of the Film Division was \$205,000, given June 30, 1918. By March, 1919, over \$400,000 had been turned into the Treasury of the United States by the Film Division. In addition to this showing of profit, receipts were generous enough to meet much of the cost of the free distribution of these films in the neutral countries of the world, as well as enabling the educational department to furnish free service to training camps and base hospitals, as well as to a great number of patriotic organizations and institutions.

In June, 1918, the Bureau of Allied War Expositions was organized as a bureau in the Division of Films, and on September 1, 1918, the division absorbed the Bureau of War Photographs.

The Bureau of War Photographs is the only department of this division which does not show a profit. This has been due to the fact that we have made every effort to furnish a service to the families of the boys overseas who were interested in securing official pictures at an extremely low rate.

DIVISION OF FILMS, COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC INFORMATION.

*Gross income report for the period ended May 31, 1919.*

Income from Division of Films:

Pershing's Crusaders	\$181, 741. 69
America's Answer	185, 144. 30
Under Four Flags	63, 946. 48
Official War Review	334, 622. 35
Our Bridge of Ships	992. 41
U. S. A. Series	13, 864. 98
Our Colored Fighters	640. 60
News Weekly	15, 150. 00
Miscellaneous sales	56, 641. 58
 Total sales from films	852, 744. 39
Sale of property	2, 685. 45
Interest and discount	4, 564. 51
 <hr/>	<hr/>
	859, 994. 35

## Income from Expositions:

San Francisco	-----	\$54, 274. 80
Los Angeles	-----	65, 375. 75
Chicago	-----	583, 731. 24
Cleveland	-----	167, 355. 51
Waco	-----	16, 904. 70
Pittsburgh	-----	147, 804. 16
Kansas City	-----	28, 646. 20
Cincinnati	-----	66, 541. 20
Buffalo	-----	60, 354. 27
St. Louis	-----	23, 570. 40
New Orleans	-----	14, 439. 20
Toledo	-----	50, 003. 02
Detroit	-----	63, 470. 74
Houston	-----	22, 684. 05
Milwaukee	-----	49, 372. 02
St. Paul (small exhibit)	-----	9, 065. 34
Jackson (small exhibit)	-----	5, 169. 29
Little Rock (small exhibit)	-----	2, 458. 72
Oklahoma (small exhibit)	-----	4, 664. 71
Great Falls (small exhibit)	-----	996. 07
Waterloo (small exhibit)	-----	1, 122. 85
Total income, Expositions	-----	<u>1, 438, 004. 24</u>

## Income from Bureau of War Photographs:

Sales of photographs and slides	-----	68, 857. 38
Sales of property	-----	1, 196. 56
Interest and discount	-----	546. 16
Total income, Bureau of War Photographs	-----	<u>70, 600. 10</u>

## Receipts from Foreign Section:

Archangel	-----	3, 928. 00
Argentina	-----	3, 293. 49
China	-----	2, 055. 88
Holland	-----	58, 698. 93
Italy	-----	29, 729. 49
Mexico	-----	25, 423. 29
Spain	-----	14, 000. 00
Sweden	-----	6, 441. 38
Switzerland	-----	11, 196. 69
Miscellaneous	-----	24, 287. 86
Interest	-----	179, 155. 01
		284. 69
		<u>179, 439. 70</u>
Total income	-----	<u>2, 548, 038. 39</u>

(Vladivostok and Harbin reports not yet received.)

## PERSONNEL OF THE DIVISION OF FILMS.

*Director*.—Charles S. Hart.

*Domestic Distribution*.—Denis J. Sullivan.

*Educational Bureau*.—Miss Clare de Lissa Berg.

*Bureau of War Expositions*.—Chester I. Campbell, William Ganson Rose, Dean C. Mathews, directors.

*Bureau of War Photographs*.—William A. Grant.

*Department of Scenarios and Domestic Production*.—Rufus Steele.

*Auditing Department*.—T. S. Barrett.

*Foreign Film Distribution*.—Marcus A. Beeman, E. M. Anderson.

*Distribution feature pictures*.—George Bowles.

*Laboratory*.—Robert Rinehart.

## BUREAU OF DISTRIBUTION OF THE DIVISION OF FILMS.

Film distribution was handled (outside of the States of California, North Dakota, and Michigan, in which States the distribution of Government films was in charge of the councils of defense of those respective States) by contract with established film-distributing organizations on a percentage basis, in accordance with the established custom in the motion-picture industry.

The respective Government films were distributed by the following distributing organizations:

Official War Review, Pathe Exchange (Inc).

Pershing's Crusaders, First National Exhibitors' Circuit (Inc.).

America's Answer, World Film Corporation.

Under Four Flags, World Film Corporation.

U. S. A. Series, World Film Corporation.

Our Colored Fighters, Downing Films Co. (colored).

*Divisional representatives*.—From September 15 to December 15 the Domestic Distribution Department had in the field 17 sales representatives stationed in the various centers of distribution, such as New York, Boston, Buffalo, Chicago, Indianapolis, St. Louis, Seattle, Salt Lake City, New Orleans, and Atlanta, which representatives supervised the sales efforts of the distributor and made direct governmental appeal to exhibitors on behalf of the Government films, and also adjusted and regulated the problems resulting from the close and noncompetitive booking of these films.

The aim of this department was to secure the widest possible distribution of the Government films in the shortest

possible time. To this end every effort was made to eliminate the competitive idea from the minds of exhibitors and to, wherever possible, secure simultaneous showings in houses which ordinarily competed for pictures.

*Proportionate selling plan.*—There was also inaugurated a proportionate selling plan whereby the rental charged every house was based on the average income derived from that particular house. By this method the small house as well as the large one could afford to run the Government films. The result of these efforts to obtain the widest possible showing for Government films is tabulated below, and it may be mentioned that the showing of America's Answer breaks all records for range of distribution of any feature of any description ever marketed.

Title of production.	Reels (each).	Number of prints circulated.	Total bookings of record.	Number of theaters played.	Contracted theaters still to play.
Official War Review (1 every week for 31 weeks).....	1	<sup>1</sup> 145	6,950	6,950	.....
Pershing's Crusaders.....	7	112	4,189	3,352	837
America's Answer.....	5	103	4,548	3,026	1,522
Under Four Flags.....	5	73	1,820	716	1,104
U. S. A. Series (4 subjects).....	2	25	212	.....	.....

<sup>1</sup> Of each issue.

Additional contracts on all features are still being received. (This report as noted above does not include the States of North Dakota, California, and Michigan.)

On the basis of a total of 12,000 motion-picture theaters in the United States, over one-half the total number of theaters in the country exhibited the Official War Review and nearly that portion America's Answer. (Bearing in mind that three States are not included in the figures on the Government distribution.)

In the film industry a booking of 40 per cent of the theaters is considered as 100 per cent distribution because of the close proximity of a great number of theaters, rendering them dependent on the same patronage—that is, theaters are plotted as available in zones rather than as individual theaters, thus three theaters in one zone present but one possible booking because of the identity of clientele. Taking this into con-

sideration, the distribution of Government features approximated 80 per cent and 90 per cent rather than 50 per cent distribution, although on America's Answer in certain territories such as New York and Seattle the percentage of total theaters booked reached over 60 per cent and 54 per cent, respectively, which on the above basis would equal 100 per cent distribution.

*News weeklies.*—In addition to the above activities this department furnished to each of the four film news weeklies—Gaumont, Pathé, Universal, and Mutual—a weekly quota of 500 feet of topical war film to be incorporated into their respective film news weeklies.

*Theater admissions.*—Beginning with America's Answer a clause was inserted in the feature contract with the exhibitor expressly providing that no advance in admission prices should be made during the showing of the Government films; this was made practical by the proportionate selling plan in effect, and it also made it possible for the public to see these features at the same price paid to see any film at the particular theater, small or large.

*Publicity.*—Publicity matter was furnished to newspapers and periodicals of all description throughout the country, which was used generously by those publications, which also cooperated splendidly with local theaters on these features by timing the publication of this matter just preceding and concurrently with the local play dates of the Government features.

This department also prepared and distributed to every exhibitor in the United States press sheets on the several Government films, which stimulated bookings, especially in the remote communities not reached by the general publicity.

*Government presentations.*—In order to lend a certain dignity to the Government features which would be sufficiently impressive to take them out of the class of ordinary motion-picture productions in the minds of the general public, and to stimulate interest in them on the part of officials and influential citizens whose expressed opinions were worth much in securing showings of these pictures, there were given governmental presentations of each of the three big features as follows:

Pershing's Crusaders was shown in the following 24 principal cities of the United States:

Boston, Mass.	Kansas City, Mo.	St. Louis, Mo.
Buffalo, N. Y.	Milwaukee, Wis.	St. Paul, Minn.
Chicago, Ill.	Minneapolis, Minn.	Salt Lake City, Utah.
Cincinnati, Ohio.	New York, N. Y.	San Francisco, Calif.
Cleveland, Ohio.	Omaha, Nebr.	Seattle, Wash.
Columbus, Ohio.	Philadelphia, Pa.	Spokane, Wash.
Denver, Colo.	Pittsburgh, Pa.	Toledo, Ohio.
Detroit, Mich.	Portland, Oreg.	Washington, D. C.

America's Answer in the 34 following cities:

Albany, N. Y.	Columbus, Ohio.	Omaha, Nebr.
Atlanta, Ga.	Dayton, Ohio.	Philadelphia, Pa.
Atlantic City, N. J.	Denver, Colo.	Pittsburgh, Pa.
Baltimore, Md.	Hartford, Conn.	Portland, Oreg.
Birmingham, Ala.	Indianapolis, Ind.	Providence, R. I.
Boston, Mass.	Kansas City, Mo.	St. Louis, Mo.
Bridgeport, Conn.	Macon, Ga.	St. Paul, Minn.
Brooklyn, N. Y.	Milwaukee, Wis.	Tacoma, Wash.
Chattanooga, Tenn.	Minneapolis, Minn.	Washington, D. C.
Chicago, Ill.	Nashville, Tenn.	Worcester, Mass.
Cincinnati, Ohio.	New Haven, Conn.	
Cleveland, Ohio.	New York, N. Y.	

Under Four Flags in the following nine cities:

New York, N. Y.	Indianapolis, Ind.
Philadelphia, Pa.	Chicago, Ill.
Baltimore, Md.	St. Louis, Mo.
Cincinnati, Ohio.	Kansas City, Mo.
Dayton, Ohio.	

Each of these so-called official showings extended over the period of a week or more and were presented at municipal halls, well-known legitimate or motion-picture theaters centrally located in the respective cities. Wide and intensive publicity and advertising campaigns were conducted by representatives on the spot by means of department-store window and hotel-lobby displays, street-car cards and banners and newspaper space donated by local advertisers, etc. This campaign also included circularization and personal interviews with representatives, officials, and leading citizens, clubs, societies, and organizations, including large industrial plants and firms. Churches, schools, chambers of commerce, political and social clubs, Young Men's Christian Associa-

tion, Red Cross, Liberty loan and fraternal organizations were among those included in the lists.

In many instances portions of the house or the entire house on certain evenings were sold en bloc to organizations which attended en masse. These showings and the local notables attending were given publicity in the local press, thereby stimulating attendance at the regular showings in the local motion-picture houses in the respective territories which followed.

Taking for example the official presentations in New York City—Pershing's Crusaders was shown at the Lyric Theater; America's Answer was shown at the George M. Cohan Theater; Under Four Flags was shown simultaneously at the Rivoli and Rialto Theaters on Broadway—each of these showings was preceded by a press campaign of about two weeks, several hundred 24-sheet, 3-sheet, and 1-sheet posters were posted, and thousands of window cards displayed, invitations were sent to all local dignitaries, and the showings were attended by representatives of the French, British, and Italian High Commissions. In Washington, members of Congress, the President, his Cabinet, and many other officials attended, all of which facts were used extensively in advertising the features for general distribution.

*Screen pledge.*—All theaters which played one or more Government films were supplied with a certificate of service rendered the Government by the dedication of their screen to the support of its work.

#### EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT OF THE DIVISION OF FILMS.

This department has had a stock of reels comprising Pershing's Crusaders, America's Answer, Under Four Flags, Our Colored Fighters, Our Bridge of Ships, the early issues of the Official War Review, and several short pictures having to do with naval and military training.

This was one of the first departments created in the Division of Films for the purpose of furnishing material free of charge to various patriotic organizations. It entailed considerable expense in cost of material and organization overhead, which expense was carried by other departments of this division.

The films were loaned to Army and Navy stations, educational and patriotic institutions, without charge except transportation. Other organizations and individuals were usually charged \$1 per reel for each day used. When it is considered that the average reel costs \$40 for raw stock and printing, and that the average life of a reel is about 200 runs, it can be readily seen that this charge of \$1 per reel barely covers cost. For the purpose of comparison the leading motion picture houses in New York pay as high as \$3,000 for the use of one picture for one week's run.

#### SCENARIO DEPARTMENT OF THE DIVISION OF FILMS.

This department began operations on June 1, 1918. Its undertakings were based on a theory until then untried. The departments at Washington had been in the habit of contracting for the production of films on propaganda subjects and then making additional contracts to secure a more or less limited circulation of the pictures when produced. The general attitude of motion-picture exhibitors was that propaganda pictures were uninteresting to audiences and could have no regular place in their theaters. The theory of the Division of Films was that the fault lay in the fact that propaganda pictures had never been properly made, and that if skill and care were employed in the preparation of the scenarios the resultant pictures could secure place in regular motion-picture programs. Producers were at first skeptical, but in the end they agreed to undertake the production of one-reel pictures for which the Division was to supply the scenario, the list of locations and permits for filming the same, and to give every possible cooperation, all without charge. The finished picture became the sole property of the producer, who obligated himself merely to give it the widest possible circulation after it had been approved by the Division of Films. Mr. Rufus Steele was given charge of the new venture, and while many difficulties had to be overcome, the theory proved sound.

The following one-reel pictures were produced:

By the Paramount-Bray Pictograph:

Says Uncle Sam: Keep 'Em Singing and Nothing Can Lick 'Em—the purpose and method of the vocal training of the Army and the Navy.

Says Uncle Sam: I Run the Biggest Life Insurance Company on Earth—the story of the War Risk Insurance Bureau.

Says Uncle Sam: A Girl's a Man for A' That—the story of women in war work.

Says Uncle Sam: I'll Help Every Willing Worker Find a Job—the story of the United States Employment Service.

By the Pathé Co.:

Solving the Farm Problem of the Nation—the story of the United States Boys' Working Reserve.

Feeding the Fighter—the story of how the Army was supplied with food.

By the Universal Co.:

Reclaiming the Soldiers' Duds—the story of the salvage work of the War Department.

The American Indian Gets into the War Game—how the Indian took his place, both in the military forces and in food production.

By C. L. Chester:

Schooling Our Fighting Mechanics—the work of the Committee on Education and Special Training of the War Department.

There Shall Be No Cripples—the rehabilitation work of the Surgeon General's Office.

Colored Americans—the activities of the negroes, both in the military forces and in war activities at home.

It's an Engineer's War—the work of the Engineers' training camps of the War Department.

Finding and Fixing the Enemy—certain work of the Engineer Corps of the War Department.

Waging War in Washington—the method of Government operation.

All the Comforts of Home—the methods of War Department in providing necessities and conveniences for the soldiers.

Masters for the Merchant Marine—the development of both officers and men for the new merchant navy.

The College for Camp Cooks—the thorough training given men who were to prepare the food for the soldiers.

Railless Railroads—the work of the Highway Transport Committee.

The following pictures, of more than one reel in length, were made by private producers from our scenarios and under our supervision:

By. C. L. Chester:

The Miracle of the Ships, a six-reel picture covering in detail the construction of the carrier ships at Hog Island and other yards, and showing every detail of construction, following the iron from the mine to the steel mills, following the wood from the forests to the shipyard, and the concrete through its several stages to the molds.

By The W. W. Hodkinson Corporation:

Made in America, an eight-reel picture telling the full story of the Liberty Army. It follows the soldier through every stage of the draft and through every step of his military, physical, and social development and into the actual combat overseas. This picture may be regarded as a particularly interesting achievement of the Division of Films. Such a picture was greatly desired by Gen. Munson, head of the Morale Branch of the War Department, for circulation in the Army and among the people of the United States, as well as abroad. As this picture was to show the relation of the home life to the soldier, professional actors and actresses and much studio work would be required. The Morale Branch had no funds to pay for such a picture, and the Division of Films was able to work out a scenario of such promise that the Hodkinson Corporation agreed to produce the picture at their own expense, which they did at a cost exceeding \$40,000. This picture was only half completed when the armistice was signed, but because an effort was being made to make it something of a classic that would record for all time how the great army was raised and developed, the producers felt that the interest in it would continue as strong as before. In February, 1919, it was shown in Washington to the War College, then to Secretary Baker and the staff, and also in a large theater which was crowded with Government officials. The production won the highest praise from the Secretary and officers. Upon learning of the picture, Gen. Pershing immediately cabled a request for it and copies went forward for his use.

Numerous other pictures had been arranged for and would no doubt have been made by various producers had not the armistice brought these undertakings to a termination.

Late in the summer of 1918, our system of production through outside concerns having worked out satisfactorily, it was decided to undertake production on our own account. Accordingly, scenarios were written and the following six two-reel pictures were produced by the division:

If Your Soldier's Hit, showing the operation of the regimental detachment and field hospital unit in getting wounded men off the front line, giving them first aid and conveying them safely to recuperation bases. This picture was made in conjunction with the Surgeon General's Office at the training camp at Fort Riley, Kans., and the scenes were supplemented by scenes from overseas.

Our Wings of Victory, showing the complete processes of the manufacture and operation of airplanes for war purposes. The construc-

tion scenes were taken in the chief plane factories and were supplemented by extraordinary scenes of flying.

Our Horses of War, showing how the remount depots of the Army obtain and train the horses and mules for Cavalry and Artillery purposes, and the feats performed by the animals so trained under the manipulation of the soldiers.

Making the Nation Fit, showing how new recruits for the great Army and the great Navy were developed to a stage of physical fitness.

The Storm of Steel, showing how twelve billions of the Liberty loan money was being expended in the construction of guns and munitions. These scenes were taken in half a dozen of the chief gun plants of the country and on the proving grounds and are the most complete record in the Government's possession of this undertaking.

The Bath of Bullets, showing the development and use of machine guns in this war.

Beginning on December 23, 1918, the first four of these two-reel pictures were released at intervals of two weeks through the division's own exchanges. The last two mentioned pictures were not sent out, because they were purely "war pictures" and also because there was no way in the few weeks remaining of the division's existence to handle properly their national circulation.

A second series of six two-reel pictures had been laid out and the filming was about to proceed when the armistice caused the division to suspend all new undertakings.

#### BUREAU OF WAR EXPOSITIONS OF THE DIVISION OF FILMS.

The Bureau of Expositions was organized in May, 1918. It was the result of a desire on the part of the public to see the actual machinery of war, as well as the trophies which were brought here by the representatives of the Allied Nations.

The bureau combined into one group the trophies of England, France, Belgium, Italy, Canada, and the United States.

It opened on the Pacific coast the first week in July at San Francisco, going from there to Los Angeles in August and in September to Chicago, where the Lake Front had been taken for the exhibition. Nearly 2,000,000 people visited the exposition in Chicago in two weeks, the average daily attendance being in excess of that of the Chicago World's Fair. In

this city alone the receipts were over \$500,000 and the bureau turned in to the United States Treasury a net profit of \$300,000.

Its financial success was not the result of a high admission price, but due to the appeal of the exposition itself. On the Pacific coast tickets were sold for 50 cents and were redeemable at the gate for a 25-cent war saving stamp in addition to an admission ticket. This plan was followed for the purpose of creating the war saving stamp habit in that territory.

In Chicago and the other cities listed below the tickets were sold in advance for 25 cents; children  $2\frac{1}{2}$  cents.

The popularity of the exposition in the larger cities was due to the cooperation of the War and Navy Departments, which made possible the staging of sham battles which had a tremendous appeal besides illustrating the modern methods of trench warfare.

The War Exposition had the attraction of a circus and the effect of a sermon. It brought home to the people the seriousness of war and the effect was immediately noticed in the sales of Liberty bonds, war saving stamps, Red Cross benefits, and other agencies.

The cities where the War Exposition was shown are listed below:

	Receipts.
Chicago	\$583,731.24
San Francisco	54,274.80
Los Angeles	65,375.75
Cleveland	167,355.51
Waco	16,904.70
Pittsburgh	147,804.16
Kansas City	28,646.20
Cincinnati	66,541.10
Buffalo	60,354.27
St. Louis	23,570.40
St. Paul	8,986.65
Jackson, Mich.	2,946.48
Little Rock, Ark.	1,595.14
Oklahoma City, Okla.	4,236.43
Great Falls, Mont.	977.53
Waterloo, Iowa	983.93
New Orleans	14,439.20
Toledo	50,003.02
Detroit	63,470.74
Houston	22,684.05

## BUREAU OF WAR PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE DIVISION OF FILMS.

The first purpose of this bureau was to open up the war activities of the Nation to the exploitation of the camera. Military authorities were naturally interested only in guarding military secrets, but an agreement was finally reached by which the Committee on Public Information agreed to investigate all applicants for camera permits, and also to pass upon the pictures when taken. This system of investigation and this method of voluntary censorship was a success from the start. It is a tribute to the patriotism of the photographic and motion-picture industries that the bureau, without a law of any kind behind it, enforced a censorship more effective than that in any other belligerent country. No request was ever ignored; also, while thousands of permits were issued, none was ever abused.

A second step in the progress of this bureau was the distribution of photographs made by the Signal Corps. Not alone was it the case that these pictures had a distinct commercial value, but what was even more important, they had high educational values.

To secure the most efficient distribution a plan was evolved which utilized the Photographic Association, which association had members that syndicated their photographs internationally as well as nationally, namely, Underwood & Underwood, International Film Service, Brown Bros., Paul Thompson, Kadel & Herbert, Harris & Ewing, Western Newspaper Union, News Enterprise Association, and others, which afforded a widespread distribution system. Through organized effort these syndicate members placed these photographs in daily newspapers, weekly and monthly magazines, technical publications, and other media. To expedite production and delivery a laboratory was secured in New York City which was operated by the Signal Corps Photographic Division in conjunction with Columbia University. The prices fixed were nominal, designed only to cover expenses.

This department also furnished quantities of photographs each week to the Foreign Service Section of the committee for use in propaganda media in the Allied and neutral nations, same being used in the making of posters, circular matter, and in foreign newspapers and other publications.

Photographs were also furnished for publicity purposes for motion-picture features and were reproduced in hundreds of newspapers reaching millions of circulation.

Another means of distribution of war photographs was to private collections, which comprised the universities, historical societies, State and municipal libraries, and any organization that could make use of pictures for future reference. Also, individuals who were interested in getting pictures of war activities, more especially those who had members of their families or friends directly connected with the war.

The Department of Slides was next added to the activities of the bureau and supplied a long-felt need for official and authentic photographs in stereopticon form for the use of ministers, lecturers, school teachers, and others. We succeeded in putting out standard size black and white slides of the finest workmanship at 15 cents each, which price saved the user from 50 to 80 per cent.

At first the production of slides was entirely dependent on the laboratory of the Signal Corps in Washington, which, as the orders increased in volume, proved inadequate to turn out sufficient quantity. The Committee on Public Information then built its own laboratory, which had ample production facilities.

The first few months we confined our work solely to producing and distributing miscellaneous slides made from the pictures released daily for the newspapers. Catalogues were prepared listing all slides and were furnished to individuals and organizations upon request.

There was a demand for illustrated lectures on the war. Destruction of the churches in France by the Germans was our first production, as a complete set of 50 slides. This lecture was written by Prof. Tatlock.

Immediately after the release of the "Ruined Churches" set, the following were prepared: Our Boys in France, 100 slides; Building a Bridge of Ships to Pershing, 50 slides; To Berlin Via the Air Route, 50 slides; Making the American Army, 50 slides. About 700 of these sets were ordered by patriotic organizations and individuals, as well as churches and schools.

The next illustrated lectures to be distributed were as follows: The Call to Arms, 58 slides; Trenches and Trench Warfare, 73 slides; Airplanes and How Made, 61 slides; Flying for America, 54 slides; The American Navy, 51 slides; The Navy at Work, 36 slides; Building a Bridge of Ships, 63 slides; Transporting the Army to France, 63 slides; Carrying the Home to the Camp, 61 slides. These sets were prepared by George F. Zook, professor of modern European history in Pennsylvania State College. A total of 900 were ordered. While the greater number of orders came from various parts of this country, many were received from foreign countries.

In the year of existence the Department of Slides distributed a total of 200,000 slides.

The entire stocks of this bureau, its files, and equipment have been turned over to the War and Navy for continued use.

#### OFFICIAL U. S. BULLETIN.

The Official Bulletin was established under order of the President of the United States as a war-emergency institution, and printed daily by the Committee on Public Information. During the war period it performed a function the importance of which is attested by the directing heads, not only of this Government, but by the leaders of all the world powers. It was a history—formal, official, without color or bias.

The fundamental object in its establishment was:

That there might be some official source to which the public could look for authoritative information as to the acts and proceedings vitally affecting their legal rights and obligations; that there might be put in print for all time a faithful record of the part played by the Government of the United States in the World War; and that the Government departments might be relieved of the very considerable correspondence with persons desiring the character of information which properly should be published from day to day; and that this information should be disseminated throughout the Nation in an effective manner.

The Official Bulletin performed all of these functions to the last detail. It was an immediate means of Government

communication with the business interests with which the Government has been in contractual relations; with the offices of foreign Governments here and abroad, with the consular service, and with the public desirous of information of a specific character. Its monetary value to the Government in the clerical labor and supplies it has conserved by anticipating nation-wide inquiries in its daily record of the facts represent an amount in excess of the cost of issuing the Bulletin.

The Bulletin printed all issued records to date of every casualty among our Army and Navy forces abroad and in the camps and cantonments in the United States, the name of every man taken prisoner, cited for bravery, or wounded on the field of battle, every communiqué issued by Gen. Pershing, every State paper, proclamation, executive order, and all statements and pronouncements and addresses by the President since the entry of this Government into the war. There has also been printed every order, pronouncement, and regulation issued by the heads of the great permanent Government departments; the Food, Fuel, and Railroad Administrations, the War Industries Board, War Trade Board, Alien Property Custodian, War Labor Board, the Postmaster General as Director General of the Telephone, Telegraph, and Cable Systems, and all other independent agencies of the Government. Important contracts awarded, texts of important laws, proceedings of the United States Supreme Court, daily résumé of important actions of Congress, Treasury statements, etc., have been printed from day to day.

The Official U. S. Bulletin was the chain of intelligence which linked the executive branch of the Government, its departments, bureaus, and all of its war ramifications directly with their related interests, to wit: Diplomatic Corps, distant Government offices and agencies, Government contractors and industries, Red Cross and kindred organizations, and business associations.

Congress made practical use of the Official U. S. Bulletin. There were innumerable calls for complete files from members of the Senate and House. At the request of individual Members of Congress, we admitted to the free lists thousands

of constituents who sought information of the character that the Bulletin printed.

The Bulletin went also to every camp library, here and abroad. Gen. Pershing received an allotment each day for the use of his general staff, and Admiral Sims likewise had available a supply for his immediate staff.

To the War and Navy Departments the Bulletin performed a remarkable service when it is understood that it would have been an almost impossible task to supply the individual requirements for information so essential to all officers of the military arms of the Government. The Secretary of War, early in the life of the Bulletin, directed the commanding officers of all military posts and stations to display the Bulletin in conspicuous places for the information of all concerned.

In the Navy the Bulletin played a conspicuous part in keeping the entire personnel advised formally and officially of every order of the Secretary and all Government bodies. Secretary Daniels directed that the Bulletin be forwarded immediately after publication each evening to every departmental bureau and ship and shore station of the Navy. All commandants and commanding officers were instructed to have it placed in a conspicuous place and to notify the officers and men under their command of its existence and purpose.

The Post Office Department, supplementing its own publication, the Postal Bulletin, which goes daily to all offices of the first and second classes, and when occasion requires, to those of the third class, but which does not go to 46,000 offices of the fourth class, availed itself of the use of the Bulletin as a Government medium through which pronouncements and orders affecting the great postal service might daily be published, thus enabling the Government, through the two publications, to keep daily in touch with postmasters and other authorized agents of the department in 54,000 post offices throughout the country.

The Food Administration had no official organ, but through the Official U. S. Bulletin every State, city, and county administrator in the United States was kept accurately and officially advised concerning every order and pronouncement emanating from the national administration. From the date

of the creation of the Food Administration, every order and decree issued by Mr. Hoover appeared in the Official Bulletin.

The Fuel Administration likewise had no official organ, and it was through the Official Bulletin that the army of fuel administrators from coast to coast were kept regularly informed as to the progress made by the Fuel Administration in handling the vast problem confronting the Nation.

The War Trade Board and the War Industries Board relied to a large extent upon the Official Bulletin to keep the commercial and industrial world promptly and officially advised of all rulings.

The Council of National Defense in a great measure also reached its thousands of cooperating agencies through the instrumentality of the Bulletin.

When the Government assumed control of the railroads of the country, the Director General of Railroads had no other official medium than the Bulletin through which to reach the nearly two million employees of the great railroad systems, copies of all orders, of course, were sent to the central railroad offices, but, as in the case of the Food and Fuel Administrations, there was no permanent printed record of such orders, except as they appeared in the Official Bulletin; and in all railroad offices of the country this publication was preserved religiously so that it might be referred to whenever matter of importance developed.

*Monthly circulation.*

1917.		1918—Continued.	
Daily average:		Daily average—Continued.	
May	60,000	May	111,870
June	67,000	June	113,782
July	70,000	July	115,639
August	77,500	August	118,008
September	82,000	September	113,136
October	89,081	October	115,031
November	90,341	November	108,477
December	94,912	December	97,074
1918.		1919.	
January	99,000	January	90,269
February	102,603	February	89,886
March	106,233	March	33,454
April	109,513		

A prohibitive subscription price of \$5 a year was fixed for the general public so that the Bulletin might not be accused of competing with the private enterprise of newspaper publications. Nevertheless, the amount received from subscriptions increased from \$1,644.20 in the month of May, 1917, to \$3,821.10 in the month of January, 1919, as shown by the following table of receipts:

1917.		1918—Continued.	
May	\$1,644.20	May	\$3,739.85
June	1,213.52	June	4,356.85
July	2,076.00	July	5,502.15
August	1,722.00	August	6,574.50
September	1,978.05	September	7,333.75
October	2,177.50	October	8,768.99
November	2,549.65	November	10,143.80
December	3,373.65	December	6,023.43
1918.		1919.	
January	2,591.75	January	3,821.10
February	2,462.50	February	1,863.00
March	2,566.15	March	69.00
	2,898.85		

The Official Bulletin ceased publication April 1, 1919. The full credit for its success and achievement is due to Mr. E. S. Rochester, its editor from the first day to the last.

#### THE SERVICE BUREAU.

During the early months of the war it became apparent that delay and confusion in the transactions of the public business resulted from lack of knowledge of the organization of the executive departments, of the distribution of the duties of each among its bureaus and divisions, of the personnel in charge, of the location of the many offices in which they were established, and of ready means of intercommunication. To minimize and avoid such delays and to facilitate the transactions of public business as much as possible, by directing persons to the offices which they were seeking, the Service Bureau was created on March 19, 1918, by the following Executive order of the President:

I hereby create under the direction of the Committee on Public Information, created by Executive order of April 14, 1917, a Service

Bureau, for the purpose of establishing a central office in the city of Washington where complete information records may be available as to the function, location, and personnel of all Government agencies.

I hereby ask the several departments of Government, when so requested by the chairman of the Committee on Public Information, to detail such person or persons as may be necessary in gathering the information needed and carrying on the work of the bureau so far as it relates to such departments; to give opportunity to the director of the bureau, or such person as he may designate, to secure information from time to time for the purpose of keeping the records up to date; to supply the director of the bureau on form cards, furnished by him, with information as to personnel, function, and location.

WOODROW WILSON.

In April, it moved into permanent quarters at Fifteenth and G Streets, and on May 1 opened its doors to the public. During its existence the bureau answered 86,000 inquiries.

Appropriate advertising was distributed in all of the hotels of the city, and cards were placed on the information desks of the various departments and hotels and at the Union Station. In May, the information booths at the Union Station, conducted by the Ordnance and Quartermaster Bureaus of the War Department and Navy Department, were taken over. During September, when the Allied War Exposition was held in Chicago, a branch of the Service Bureau was established there, and the reports show that much information was given to the thousands of people who applied at the booth.

Records were compiled that showed:

(1) Complete organizations of the executive departments of the Government, in bureaus, divisions, committees, commissions, and all other subdivisions.

(2) The general character of the business or duties assigned to each subdivision.

(3) The names in full and titles, if any, of the persons in charge of such divisions, including chief clerks, with the room number, location of building, and telephone number in each case.

(4) Similar information covering the various councils, commissions, and other bodies not included under any Government department.

The sources for this information were official, and in most instances were furnished on the inclosed forms by heads of

departments. As the changes in organization, personnel, or function occurred within the departments they were reported on the forms provided by the bureau. During the period of the greatest expansion of the Government these changes occurred at the rate of 300 to 500 daily.

In addition to this directory of the Government it was necessary to keep a personnel file of all persons engaged in any kind of war work in Washington, also the names, locations, functions, and officers of all charitable and relief organizations, or war agencies of any kind. The sources for this information were the daily press, city and telephone directories, and personal investigations by members of the staff of any new trail which opened.

The work of the bureau fell into two distinct sections: (1) The directory and information compiling division; (2) the information dispensing service, which included handling the mail as well as the personal and telephone requests.

The directory was compiled by a group of 10 cataloguers and as many typists detailed to the bureau from the various Government departments. They worked out the directory along the plan outlined above, and it proved to be a practical and efficient arrangement.

The organization files were copied by two different Government departments who wanted them for their own offices, viz, the Central Bureau of Planning and Statistics, and the Information Division of The Adjutant General's Office of the War Department.

The chief sources for general information were the library, the files of the Official Bulletin, and our clippings from the daily press. The library consisted of a small collection of well-chosen reference books, the annual reports of all Government departments, and a large collection of pamphlets on subjects connected with the prosecution of the war, published by numerous patriotic and educational organizations, as well as by the Government.

Our most authoritative source of information was the Official Bulletin, which we carefully indexed. It proved invaluable in answering requests for information by letter. Many times we were able to furnish the exact and authoritative information by sending a copy of the Official Bulletin.

Another valuable accumulation of information was in our clipping files. This was particularly helpful in answering questions of current interest.

The questions in the letters received covered every imaginable field of human thought and endeavor. In all cases in which we had the available information at hand, or, if it was of such a nature that it could be procured readily by telephone, we answered the letters direct. If the question was such that came well within the province of one of the Government departments, we referred the letter to that department, keeping a record of all such references. In many instances when the request for information indicated that the writer was not seeking anything specific, we sent a selection of pamphlets, or a few numbers of the Official Bulletin.

It was at the information desks, however, where the bureau did its best and most telling work, and this includes the information desk which we established in the Union Station. The number of inquiries increased month by month, reaching a maximum in the month before the armistice was signed, during which time we answered 12,176 questions asked by 10,697 persons, and answered 2,773 letters.

Following is a list of the members of the staff who had charge of definite lines of work:

Director, Frederick W. McReynolds, from March 1, 1918, to February 1, 1919, when he resigned to become a special agent of the Bureau of Internal Revenue. He was succeeded by Martin A. Morrison, who was in charge of the bureau until March 12, when he was appointed as a Civil Service Commissioner by the President. Miss Mary E. Schick, office manager from the beginning, was then promoted to be director of the bureau.

Mr. Frank E. Hackett gave his services to the bureau during the first month of its activities, and together with Mr. Arthur J. Klein made the initial survey of all of the departments. Mr. Klein remained with the bureau until October 15, when he resigned and his place was taken by Mr. G. K. Richards, who served without compensation until April 1, 1919.

Miss Emily A. Spilman, assistant librarian, Department of Justice, supervised the compiling of the directory,

being detailed to the bureau by her department for two months.

The Service Bureau was disbanded and the activities were distributed as follows on April 1, 1919:

The files were taken over by the Division of Education and Information of the Department of Labor, the publications were sent to the Government Printing Office for distribution through regular Government channels, and the library was divided among the United States Military Academy at West Point, N. Y., the Historical Section, United States Navy Department, and the Army War College.

#### DIVISION OF EXHIBIT AT STATE FAIRS.

This division was created on March 11, 1918, for the establishment of a war exhibition to be used by State fairs throughout the country. Several meetings were held with a committee representing the American Association of State Fairs and Expositions with a view to ascertaining the course to be pursued. Representatives of the Departments of the Navy, Agriculture, Commerce, the Interior, and of the Food Administration cooperated with the Committee on Public Information, and formed a joint committee to prepare plans and adopt the ways and means for this Government exhibit.

An itinerary was arranged, covering approximately 60 State fairs and expositions, for which was required three carloads of material. It was arranged that each fair association should provide suitable space in an inclosed building, paying transportation for the material on their respective circuits, also the cost of transportation and subsistence of a motion-picture operator, and such other men as were not otherwise provided for, have proper facilities and men for unloading, setting up and taking down the exhibits, and for cleaning and guarding the exposition building. All other expenses to be borne by the Committee on Public Information.

In carrying out the exhibit program the Government sent its lessons to the very doors of about seven million people throughout the country, telling by well-selected objects what the great departments in Washington were doing to bring victory to the armies that were fighting for truth and justice.

The plan of exhibition, as finally arranged, divided the country into the following six circuits:

Circuit No. 1:

Sedalia, Mo., August 10-17, Missouri State Fair.  
Des Moines, Iowa, August 23-31, Iowa State Fair.  
Hamlin (St. Paul), Minn., September 2-7, Minnesota State Fair.  
Milwaukee, Wis., September 9-14, Wisconsin State Fair.  
Oklahoma City, Okla., September 21-28, Oklahoma State Fair.  
Wichita, Kans., October 7-12, Wichita Fair.  
Dallas, Tex., October 15-27, Texas State Fair.  
Waco, Tex., November 2-14, Texas Cotton Palace Association.

Circuit No. 2:

Springfield, Ill., August 9-24, Illinois State Fair.  
Detroit, Mich., August 30-September 8, Michigan State Agricultural Society.  
Nashville, Tenn., September 16-21, Tennessee State Fair.  
Memphis, Tenn., September 21-28, Memphis Tri-State Fair.  
Knoxville, Tenn., October 7-12, East Tennessee Fair.  
Atlanta, Ga., October 14-19, Southeastern Fair Association.  
Valdosta, Ga., October 30-November 9, Georgia State Fair.  
Jacksonville, Fla., November 27-December 6, Florida State Fair and Exposition.

Circuit No. 4:

Columbus, Ohio, August 26-31, Ohio State Fair.  
Indianapolis, Ind., September 3-7, Indiana State Fair.  
Topeka, Kans., September 9-14, Kansas Free Fair.  
Hutchinson, Kans., September 16-21, Kansas State Fair.  
Muskogee, Okla., September 30-October 5, Oklahoma Free Fair.  
Kansas City, Mo., October 16-26, International Soil Products Exposition.  
Shreveport, La., October 30-November 4, Louisiana State Fair.

Circuit No. 5:

Lincoln, Nebr., September 1-6, Nebraska State Fair.  
Douglas, Wyo., September 10-14, Wyoming State Fair.  
Pueblo, Colo., September 23-28, Colorado State Fair.  
Salt Lake City, Utah, September 28-October 5, Utah State Fair.  
Los Angeles, Calif., October 12-26, California Liberty Fair.  
Phoenix, Ariz., November 11-16, Arizona State Fair.

Circuit No. 6:

Huron, S. Dak., September 9-14, South Dakota State Fair.

The combined Government exhibit for each circuit consisted of the following material:

*From the War Department:*

Ordnance Department: Machine guns, rifles, mountain guns, hand grenades, trench helmets, and Infantry equipment.

Signal Corps: Eight live carrier pigeons, various kinds of hand-signaling apparatus, portable field-wireless outfit, aviators' clothing, and an aerial bomb.

Medical Department: Gas masks, emergency first-aid kits, field-hospital chests, model of a base hospital, electric magnet for extracting steel, and a complete outfit of splints for use on wounded men.

Quartermaster Corps: Four lay figures, showing different types of uniform, models of the various kinds of tents, collection of campaign badges, display board showing various chevrons of rank of noncommissioned officers, silk colors, and bunting flags.

Corps of Engineers: Chests showing the various tools and appliances used by this corps.

Commission on Training Camp Activities: Photographs showing some of the activities of the commission.

Committee on Public Information: A series of enlarged photographs showing the part taken by our country in the winning of the war.

*Navy Department:* The exhibits from this department consisted of Marine Corps equipment, Lewis gun, also projectiles, depth bomb, naval mine and anchor, destroyer and submarine winter clothing, insignia and chevrons of commissioned and noncommissioned officers.

*Department of Agriculture:* Consisted of materials from the following branches of the department: Bureau of Forest Service, Bureau of Plant Industry, Bureau of Animal Industry, Bureau of Chemistry, Bureau of Markets, Bureau of Entomology, and the Biological Survey. This exhibit consisted of photographs and photographic enlargements, transparencies, charts, diagrams, maps, samples or specimens, and models of special pieces of apparatus and instruments of various kinds used in the investigations carried on by the different bureaus.

*Department of Commerce:* Exhibit from this department consisted of a display of its work in connection with the propagation and distribution of edible fish and the experiments being made in the use of fishskin as a substitute for leather.

*Food Administration:* The Food Administration exhibit consisted of 12 decorative panels illustrating the history of the Food Administration, charts showing propaganda material of the Educational Division, and display cases containing samples of the work done by the Home Conservation Division.

*Department of the Interior:* This department placed its specially fitted mine rescue cars at the disposal of those fairs that had trackage facilities on their grounds. The cars were accompanied by their regular crews, who gave demonstrations of the mine rescue apparatus. This exhibit was made without expense to the fair associations that were able to avail themselves of same.

There was also prepared a motion-picture exhibit for circuits 1 to 5, and a large collection of films was gathered for this purpose, and the Government furnished its own machine

and a motion-picture operator, the Committee on Public Information paying the salaries of two of these men and the Department of Agriculture providing for the other three.

Owing to the epidemic of Spanish influenza, it was found necessary to call off the Government exhibits at the following places:

Circuit No. 1: Dallas, Tex.

Circuit No. 2: Richmond, Va.; Petersburg, Va.

Circuit No. 3: Knoxville, Tenn.; Macon, Ga.

Circuit No. 4: Kansas City, Mo.; Shreveport, La.

Circuit No. 5: Phoenix, Ariz.

And the exhibit at the California Liberty Fair Association, Los Angeles, Calif., was not held until December 4 to 15.

Upon request, the War Department detailed five enlisted men from the Ordnance Department, the Medical Department, and the Signal Corps, which enabled the assignment of one man from each of these departments to each of the circuits, and the Navy Department likewise sent a marine and a sailor on each circuit.

As the combined exhibit was operated under the executive direction of the Office of Exhibits of the Department of Agriculture, that office designated an official of the Department of Agriculture in charge of each circuit and two assistants.

Capt. Joseph H. Hittinger, assigned to duty with the Committee on Public Information by the War Department, deserves the entire credit for the conduct of this division, directing it throughout, and driving it to complete success by his ability and energy.

#### DIVISION OF SYNDICATE FEATURES.

This division enlisted the volunteer services of the leading novelists, essayists and short-story writers of America. Some 50 men and women writers, and as many college presidents and professors, constituted a virtual staff that worked faithfully week after week. Among the number were Samuel Hopkins Adams, Ellis Parker Butler, Booth Tarkington, Meredith Nicholson, Harvey O'Higgins, Herbert Quick, John Spargo, William English Walling, Mary

Roberts Rinehart, Wallace Irwin, Richard Washburn Child, Samuel Merwin, Roland G. Usher, Ralph D. Paine, Martha Bensley Bruere, Edward Mott Wooley, John Reed Scott, Prof. John Erskine, Prof. Eugene Davenport, Crittenden Marriott, James Collins, Rex Beach, Virginia Frazer Boyle, and many others.

At first a good many personal pronouncements were used to make clear why we are at war, to explain the ideals for which we are fighting. Opinions of prominent people were in demand, though stories of our war activities were also used. But the character of the matter sent out changed as the war progressed. Our object was, in the newspaper phrase, to "sell the war," and we tried to furnish, dressed in acceptable newspaper style, the story of the war machine in its thousands of phases, the story of our boys over there and over here, and the spirit that is back of the whole great adventure.

The Division of Syndicate Features did not confine itself wholly to fact stories and human interest stuff about army and navy workers. It dealt also with the larger aspects that were behind the immediate facts. It covered the racial, the social, the moral, and the financial aspects of the war, written by specialists in these lines.

The stories were used from Florida to Alaska, from New York to California, reaching a circulation of about 12,000,000 a month. Assuming that each paper was read by two people, it meant that one-fourth of the people in this country had access to our syndicate stories.

We established also a semimonthly service for trade journals, labor papers, and house organs.

The success of the division owed much to the brilliant direction of William MacLeod Raine, who was assisted by Mr. Arthur MacFarlane.

#### DIVISION OF WOMEN'S WAR WORK.

This division was established November 1, 1917, under the direction of Clara Sears Taylor, for the purpose of informing and energizing the women of the country, keeping in touch with the various women's groups, sending out material, and giving impetus to all movements connected with the work

of American women in the war. During its existence about 1,000 news stories and feature articles concerning the work of women were sent out to 19,471 newspapers and organization publications. These releases included a wire and mail service and were made up of news stories and feature articles. They were sent daily to 2,861 papers in columns containing from 12 to 20 stories each. These stories were short and were used by the papers on their editorial pages, in the magazine sections, and by many women column writers. The absorption was remarkable, the material being used by publications in every section of the country.

Two hundred and fifty pictures were furnished, showing women actively engaged in war work.

Attempt was also made to cover every phase of women's work through seven daily columns:

First, work being done in national organizations.

Second, in Government departments.

Third, decentralized organizations of women's work throughout the United States.

Fourth, schools and colleges.

Fifth, churches. This column has been widely copied.

Sixth, foreign column.

Seventh, work being done by organizations of colored women.

Two college brochures were issued. It is impossible to estimate the number of these pamphlets which were distributed, because in a number of cases they were reprinted locally. The colleges cooperated with the Women's Division in response to these brochures in a remarkable manner.

Among the special feature releases sent out by the department a four-column clip sheet on wage-earning woman in winning the war, a munition workers' uniform release, and one telling how Uncle Sam cares for the families of his soldiers met with unusual response.

#### THE BUREAU OF CARTOONS.

The Bureau of Cartoons was officially established as a part of the Committee on Public Information on May 28, 1918, its purpose being to mobilize and direct the scattered cartoon power of the country for constructive war work.

The principal activity of the bureau was the weekly publication of the Bulletin for Cartoonists. Every week the bureau obtained from all the chief departments of the Government the announcements which they particularly wanted to transmit to the public, wrote them up in the Bulletin and sent them out to over 750 cartoonists. As general suggestions and advance news "tips" were published rather than specific subjects for cartoons there was no danger of cartoonists losing their individuality or originality. Cartoonists all over the Nation followed out these suggestions. This made for timeliness and unity of cartoon power, which developed into a stimulating and actively constructive force for shaping public opinion and winning the war.

Relations were established with 37 Government agencies, which regularly furnished material for transmission to the cartoonists.

The Bureau of Cartoons gave service in two ways:

1. By devoting issues of the Bulletin to giving special facts and sidelights on the various campaigns.
2. By obtaining from cartoonists original cartoons to be syndicated during the campaign.

Special numbers of the Bulletin have been published on the September Draft, Liberty Loan, Merchant Marine, United War Work Campaign, and the December Food Conservation Drive, etc. It has also secured cartoons for advance publicity for some of these drives.

When original cartoons were received unrequested they were turned over to the department interested. When asked for original cartoons by Government departments, the bureau transmitted the requests to a few of the many cartoonists who had volunteered to supply drawings. Cartoons were thus turned over to the Food Administration, the Fuel Administration, the Boys' Working Reserve, the Women's Committee of the Council of National Defense, the Reclamation Service of the Interior Department, the Emergency Fleet Corporation, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Red Cross, etc. In several cases the Bureau of Cartoons supplied rush orders for cartoons for special campaigns.

Mr. Alfred M. Saperston was the first manager of the bureau. After he enlisted in August in Marine Aviation, the

work of the bureau was conducted by Miss Gretchen Leicht. Mr. George J. Hecht, who established the bureau, maintained an unofficial supervision throughout its period of existence.

#### DIVISION OF BUSINESS MANAGEMENT.

This division had custody of all funds of the committee and the disbursing of the same. These comprised the Treasury allotments and the special bank accounts authorized by Executive order for the handling of the financial affairs of such divisions as are engaged in business enterprises. All disbursements were subject to the approval of the directors of divisions and the chairman of the committee.

The most approved methods of bookkeeping and auditing were installed and monthly reports of all financial transactions were rendered to the chairman and to the directors of divisions.

The purchase of furniture, supplies, and equipment, together with supervision of offices and custody of the property of the committee, was a part of the duties of this division. It also had charge of the reception and distribution of all incoming and outgoing mail matter for the whole committee, and the mimeographing, addressing, wrapping, and mailing of all circulars, pamphlets, and publications of the several divisions; the placing and delivering of orders for printing and stationery, and it met the general requirements of the committee for stenographic work and the handling and filing of correspondence. The highest praise is deserved by Mr. C. D. Lee, the business head of the committee.

#### DIVISION OF WORK WITH THE FOREIGN BORN.

Nothing is more true than that people do not live by bread alone. The majority live on catch-phrases. For years the average American has discharged his duty to the alien by glib references to the "melting pot," with never a thought to see whether the pot was really melting. Hopeful thousands, coming to this land of promise with their hearts in their hands, have been treated with every neglect and indifference, and only in the most haphazard way have they been brought into touch with the richer opportunities of American life.

When America went to war, however, these unregarded millions took on a new importance, for our unity, our striking force, our front to the enemy, depended in large measure upon the attitude of Americans of foreign birth or descent. Let it be stated at the very outset that this attitude was indeed that "100 per cent Americanism" of which politicians talk, expressing itself from first to last in volunteering and every form of service and sacrifice. Harassed by so-called "patriotic societies," instinct with the spirit of Chauvinism, hounded by laws conceived in intolerance, and with their notable contributions to the common cause permitted to go unnoticed, the foreign-language groups established records of patriotism not outshone by those of native stock.

The Committee on Public Information at the very outset realized the importance of bringing the truths about the war home to the foreign born of carrying straight to the heart of every alien, enemy and neutral, the tremendous idealism of America. We felt strongly that this work, if attempted by the usual type of "Americanizers," would fail just as it had always failed, and our effort was to find group leaders able and willing to undertake this virtual evangelization, to develop "loyalty leagues" within the groups themselves that would discharge the task.

The first success was in the formation of the Friends of German Democracy, a name derided at the time. Franz Sigel, worthy son of a great father, accepted the presidency; Mr. Julius Koettgen became the secretary, and about them they rallied such patriots as Rudolph Blankenburg, Dr. Abraham Jacobi, Dr. Karl Mathie, Frederick Hoffman, and many other true Americans of German descent.

Mr. Alexander Konta then organized the Hungarian-American Loyalty League, and despite the attacks of those who believed in "hate," he rallied his race to the banner of America until the war record of the Hungarians stands equal to any.

Mr. Edwin Bjorkman, the writer, was chosen to form the John Ericsson League for work among the Swedish, and when this was well under way, he drew to himself such men as Judge Harry Olson, Dr. Max Henius, and Mr. Magnus

Svenson, and instituted similar activities among the Norse and Danish.

With respect to the other foreign language groups, close relations were established with Paderewski, Dr. Masaryk, the Serbian Legation, the Italian Embassy, and the Japanese Embassy. As time went on, however, it was seen that more direct methods were necessary, and in May, 1918, the Division of Work Among the Foreign Born, Miss Josephine Roche, in virtual charge of all these various activities from the first, was made director of the new division, and it is to her faith, vision, and rare devotions that the amazing results are due. Under Miss Roche, the Government frankly established direct and continuous contact with 14 racial groups through the following bureaus: The Italian, Hungarian, Lithuanian, Russian, Jugoslav, Czechoslovak, Polish, German (American friends of German Democracy), Ukrainian, Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, Finnish, Dutch, and the Foreign Information Service Bureau.

The report of Miss Roche is such that I beg to submit it as presented:

#### REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR.

Started as a war activity this division's purpose was directed toward meeting certain long-existing needs which war emergencies emphasized and forced into recognition. It was not only that we had to meet and conquer the bitternesses bred by years of neglect and even injustice, but there was also the need of giving European countries an immediate and convincing realization of America's aims and ideals in the war. Bringing their former countrymen, now American residents, into closer cooperation with this country's activities meant that our message would reach these people abroad from the source they most trusted.

#### PLAN OF ORGANIZATION.

It was realized that the work could receive unreserved confidence and support from the foreign born only if conducted on a thoroughly democratic plan. Therefore, cooperation and suggestions of their leaders of the foreign language press

and organizations were sought. Representatives were appointed from the foreign language groups to act as managers of the Foreign Language Bureaus of the division. They were given the responsibility for the development of this work among their people; for sending them official information in their language through their press, their organizations, and through wide correspondence and personal work; for endeavoring to rectify wrong conditions affecting the foreign born; and for making available to the native born important facts about their groups.

#### FOURTH OF JULY DEMONSTRATION.

The eagerness for real partnership and complete service on the part of the foreign born in America was made evident at the outset of the work of this division. The Fourth of July demonstration, and events leading up to it, gave a nation-wide and enduring vision of what these new Americans feel and do for this country.

On May 21 the following petition asking that the Fourth of July be specially recognized in 1918 as a day for the foreign born to demonstrate their loyalty to their adopted country was presented to President Wilson by representatives of all the foreign-language groups:

*To the President of the United States:*

On the Fourth of July, 1776, the founders of this Republic began the movement for human liberty and the rights of nations to govern themselves. One hundred and forty-two years later we find the world democracy, of which this Nation was a pioneer, formidably assailed by the powers of reaction and autocracy.

We represent these peoples whose sons and daughters came to this land later than the founders of the Republic, but drawn by the same ideals. The nations and races and peoples which we represent are taking their part, in one way or another, in the struggle. Some, happily, enjoying a political entity, are fighting openly and with arms against the enemies of progress. Others, unhappily, submerged, can give but a passive opposition. Others have been forced against their will into the armies of the common enemy. Finally, a few still remain outside, hard pressed, threatened by the mailed fist, dreading alike to be drawn in and to be found apart from the rest when the hour of settlement comes. But all, through infinite suffering, struggle, either blindly or open-eyed, toward the same end, the right of peoples to govern themselves as they themselves see fit, and a just and lasting peace.

The higher interests of the races which we left behind have become identical, in this significant year, with the higher interests of the United States. We regard ourselves not only as members of an American commonwealth, one and indivisible, but of the world commonwealth, equally indivisible. United for the principles of that democratic world-state which is fighting now for its being on the battle fields of Europe, we intend, on July 4, 1918, to manifest, by special celebrations, our loyalty to this country and to the cause for which we fight; and we respectfully request that you call attention of your fellow citizens to this fact, in order that they may join with us in commemorating this, the anniversary not only of national freedom, but of universal freedom.

From President Wilson came the sympathetic and favorable reply:

*To our citizens of foreign extraction:*

I have read with great sympathy the petition addressed to me by your representative bodies regarding your proposed celebration of Independence Day; and I wish to convey to you, in reply, my heartfelt appreciation for its expression of loyalty and good will. Nothing in this war has been more gratifying than the manner in which our foreign-born fellow citizens, and the sons and daughters of the foreign born, have risen to this greatest of all national emergencies. You have shown where you stand not only by your frequent professions of loyalty to the cause for which we fight, but by your eager response to calls to patriotic service, including the supreme sacrifice of offering life itself in battle for justice, freedom, and democracy. Before such devotion as you have shown all distinctions of race vanish; and we feel ourselves citizens in a Republic of free spirits.

I, therefore, take pleasure in calling your petition, with my hearty commendation, to the attention of all my fellow countrymen, and I ask that they unite with you in making the Independence Day of this, the year when all the principles to which we stand pledged are on trial, the most significant in our national history.

As July 4, 1776, was the dawn of democracy for this Nation, let us on July 4, 1918, celebrate the birth of a new and greater spirit of democracy by whose influence we hope and believe, what the signers of the Declaration of Independence dreamed of for themselves and their fellow countrymen, shall be fulfilled for all mankind.

I have asked the Committee on Public Information to cooperate with you in any arrangements you may wish to make for this celebration.

WOODROW WILSON.

Following this pronouncement of President Wilson the governors of the various States and mayors of cities issued similar proclamations regarding the Fourth of July. As a

result of President Wilson calling upon the Committee on Public Information to cooperate with the citizens of foreign extraction in making arrangements for the Fourth of July, this division of the committee, under the direction of Mr. Will Irwin, was afforded a rare opportunity for intimate acquaintance with these people.

The division bureaus reported on what their people did throughout the entire United States. Similar material, though not in such detail, was obtained for those groups for which the committee had no bureaus through the generous cooperation of their leaders, organizations, and newspapers.

Demonstrations of the 33 nationalities took place not only in all the cities and towns, but in practically every community where any of these people dwelt. For weeks prior to the day their national and local organizations were working on plans that would insure their peoples' complete participation in the Fourth of July demonstration. No pains were spared to make the day all they longed to have it. Probably never were there such gigantic preparations throughout the entire country for Independence Day; and certainly never was there such an outpouring of the Nation's millions of new citizens and citizens to be, as on July 4, 1918. Reports of parades, pageants, and mass meetings, resolutions, declarations, and inscriptions on banners could be enumerated for every foreign-born group and for each separate community, but it would only be a repetition of the story of their devotion.

#### THE MOUNT VERNON PILGRIMAGE.

While Albanians, Armenians, Assyrians, Belgians, Bulgarians, Chinese, Czecho-Slovaks, Costa Ricans, Danes, Dutch, Ecuadorians, Finns, French, French-Canadians, Germans, Greeks, Hungarians, Italians, Japanese, Lithuanians, Mexicans, Norwegians, Poles, Filipinos, Russians, Venezuelans, Roumanians, Spaniards, Jugo-Slavs, Swedes, Swiss, Syrians, and Ukrainians were thus acclaiming America as their country, representatives of each of these 33 groups, as the guests of President Wilson, were making a pilgrimage with him to the tomb of Washington. In response to President Wilson's Mount Vernon speech to this delegation, the delegate present there for Americans of Belgian descent

delivered the message bearing the signatures of all the 33 representatives and expressing the feelings of the great masses of new Americans:

One hundred and forty-two years ago to-day a group of men animated with the same spirit as that of the man who lies here, founded the United States of America on the theory of free government with the consent of the governed. That was the beginning of America. As the years went on, and one century blended with another, men and women came from even the uttermost ends of the earth to join them. We have called them alien; but they were never alien. Though they spoke not a word of the language of this country, though they groped only dimly toward its institutions, they were already Americans in soul or they would never have come. We are the latest manifestation of that American soul. . . .

We, who make this pilgrimage, are the offspring of 33 different nations—and Americans all. We come not alone. Behind us are millions of our people united to-day in pledging themselves to the cause of this country and of the free nations with which she is joined. From coast to coast, in city, town, and hamlet our citizens will be demonstrating that the oath which they took upon their naturalization was not an empty form of words. Yes, more than that. When, to-morrow, the casualty list brings heaviness to some homes and a firm sense of resolution to all, we shall read upon the roll of honor Slavic names, Teutonic names, Latin names, Oriental names, to show that we have sealed our faith with the blood of our best youth. To this beloved shade we come to-day with the hopes of our races garnered in our hands.

#### SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DAY TO THE NATIVE BORN.

Great as were the meaning and hope which the spirit of 1918's Fourth of July brought the foreign born, of equal importance were the foundations it laid for an understanding by our "Americans for generations back" that these "Americans by choice" came here with the same hopes as did our pilgrim ancestors, and willing, as they were, to make the supreme sacrifice for their nation's safe continuance, and knowing, as they did, the cost of freedom.

In "The Solemn Declaration of the Czechoslovak People to the Republic of the United States of America and its Great President, Woodrow Wilson," the Czechoslovaks gave fine expression of this spirit of America in the hearts of the newcomers.

We came here from the land of suffering and oppression. It is on this account that we hailed America like a rising sun after the dark night of humiliation.

We learned to love America for we are the sons of the land which in the twilight of history was the first in the world to rise and fight the battle of democracy and self-determination of her people. We are the sons of the land which shone like a great beacon light of truth and faith in the life of the fifteenth century. When the whole world slept, we were awake.

We love this land—for the ideals of July 4, 1776, incorporated by her great leaders into the law of life—and written indelibly into the hearts of the nation by the blood and sacrifices of her sons; the ideals of democracy which Lincoln set before his united country cleansed of the stain of slavery; these are the heritages of the glorious past and present of the Czechoslovak people as well. In our blood and in the beating of our hearts we bore the sacred law of freedom, democracy, and brotherhood. This is our country. We are and will remain to be true to her in laboring for her, true to her in her struggle, in her sufferings, true to the grave.

What the Fourth revealed in the way of courageous heritages and ideals among the recently arrived races in America was brought out repeatedly in the ensuing work and relation of this division and its bureaus with the foreign-speaking groups.

A summary of the reports of the 14 foreign-language bureaus follows:

#### SCANDINAVIAN BUREAU.

The Scandinavian Bureau, under the direction of Mr. Edwin Bjorkman, included not only the Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish but also the Finnish; and later, by reason of Mr. Bjorkman's knowledge and sympathy, he took over the work among the Dutch. His first work was the formation of the John Ericsson league for patriotic service among the Swedish born in America. Other organizations, the Jacob A. Riis and the Lincoln Loyalty League, were afterwards formed to do similar work among persons of Danish and Finnish descent.

#### NEWS SERVICE.

A major activity was the news service to the Scandinavian press, and later to the Dutch and Finnish, through weekly bulletins. For the five groups 998 articles, based on material from Government departments, have been released. During the draft many special releases were sent, and full explanations made of the draft questionnaires. The majority of the

papers made extensive use of the articles, many using practically every one.

*Swedish service.*—This service, first in charge of Mr. Olaf P. Zethelius, and after his death in charge of Mr. H. Gude Grinndal, sent out 309 releases to the Swedish language press. Over two-thirds of the 50 papers printed very extensively or to a fair degree these releases. No paper failed to use some, and the use and appreciation of the material steadily increased among the editors.

*Norwegian service.*—Similar cooperation came from the 40 Norwegian language newspapers in their use of the 257 releases sent out by the manager of the Norwegian service, Mr. H. Sundby-Hansen. Many personal requests for information through calls and correspondence were attended to.

*Danish service.*—Mr. Viggo C. Eberlin, in charge of the Danish service, released to their 24 papers 212 articles, which with few exceptions were given wide distribution.

*Finnish service.*—Mr. Charles H. Hirsimaki, in charge of this service, sent out 107 articles to his 24 papers with very gratifying results, considering the fact that three-fourths of the Finnish papers are highly religious or devoted largely to socialistic propaganda. Of the nine papers not using the releases eight belong in these two groups.

*Dutch service.*—The Dutch service, under Mr. James J. Van Pernis, sent 108 releases to 14 Dutch papers, and all but 2 of these made extensive and appreciative use of the material.

#### POLISH BUREAU.

Until November, 1918, the work among the Poles was done by Mr. John Wedda. Extensive contacts with local and national Polish Committees were established, originally in connection with the Fourth of July preparations. The Polish press gave splendid publicity to these plans, and proclamations on the subject were issued by the largest organizations. Splendid work on the draft was also done; full information was sent out through the organizations and press, and on the Sunday before registration the Polish clergy devoted their sermons to the subject of registration.

In November, 1919, the work was reorganized under the direction of Miss K. Wanda Wojcieszak. A regular and ex-

tensive press service was started. Since November the bureau has sent out to the 56 Polish papers 159 releases giving Government information. Every paper used many of these and most papers used the majority of them.

Numerous meetings have been attended. Trips made to 10 cities where there are the largest settlement of Polish people. Conferences with their leaders, editors, and officers of organizations brought out a splendid point of view and desire to cooperate with the bureau. Many letters asking information of Government laws and material from Government departments have been attended to.

As a result of demands following the publication of releases based on material from the Surgeon General's Office, "Venereal Diseases and How to Prevent Them," a pamphlet was issued using the material more extensively. Fifteen thousand copies, given out only to organizations, committees, and individuals asking for them, were immediately placed.

Help has been given Government departments in translating letters, in giving information desired on the Poles and in explaining through personal efforts as well as news releases Government laws and activities, such as the income tax, the Federal Employment Service, and Department of State rulings on passports.

#### UKRAINIAN BUREAU.

The Ukrainian Bureau has been under the direction of Mr. Nicholas Ceglinsky.

Seventy-two articles on Government material were sent out to the eight papers, all of which carried some of the articles. Not a single paper used less than 25 per cent of the material, most of them used 75 per cent; one paper used every article.

Important conferences and conventions were attended by the manager, and several thousand Ukrainians were reached through the meetings addressed by him on his trips to six of the largest Ukrainian centers.

Material regarding Ukrainians in America and Europe has been furnished Government departments requesting it. Much information and personal assistance has been given

to Ukrainians on Government laws and regulations. The Bureau published to meet a general demand a pamphlet, "America in War and Peace."

#### LITHUANIAN BUREAU.

The Lithuanian Bureau started its work under the direction of Lieut. Mostowski and Mr. Julius Kaupas, the latter assuming the management entirely in August, 1918.

An excellent press service on Government information released 149 articles to the 16 Lithuanian papers. Not a paper failed to use the bureau's material, most of them printing a majority of the articles.

The press among the Lithuanians was the most effective and sure way of reaching all the people with the information. "The Lithuanian press has played a more important part in the lives of the Lithuanians than any other group of immigrants. The reasons are obvious. For over 40 years Russia forbade the printing of anything in the Lithuanian language, and, due to the hard fight for printed literature in their own language, these people have held their press as something almost sacred."

Besides the releasing of articles, close relations were maintained with leading organizations which sent out numerous circular letters drawn up by this bureau enlisting the Lithuanians in War-Savings Stamps and the Liberty Loan campaigns. Constant cooperation came from the Lithuanian organizations. Letters to the various organization leaders regarding the Fourth of July brought overwhelming response from all Lithuanians throughout the country on that day.

Practically all large conventions and mass meetings were attended and information given on Government activities and need for patriotic service, with splendid results. Lithuanian settlements in 25 cities and communities were visited once or more. Reports on Lithuanians here and in the old country were furnished several Government departments.

#### CZECHOSLOVAK BUREAU.

The Czechoslovak Bureau, under the management of Mrs. Anna Tvrzicka, did extensive work in reaching all Czechoslovakians.

slovak organizations regarding the Fourth of July preparations. Many hundred telegrams were received telling of the demonstrations held in every Czechoslovak community on that day. Word even came from the boys in the Czechoslovak army in France of their celebration.

Czechoslovak newspapers number about 100 and reach practically every Czechoslovak family in the United States. To these papers 96 news releases were sent out, 40 papers using every one of them and the balance giving an extensive space. Particular attention was paid to releases on the draft and income tax, some 15 articles being released on these two subjects.

Considerable translation was done for various Government departments, such as the Red Cross, the Fuel and Food Administrations, etc. During the fourth Liberty loan a personal letter to the Czechoslovaks was written by Prof. Masaryk, at the request of the bureau, which released it to all the Czechoslovak papers. The bureau manager visited the leading Czechoslovak communities and conferred with their leaders, their editors, and their organization officers.

#### GERMAN BUREAU.

In October, 1917, the American Friends of German Democracy was organized to aid in holding the German born loyal to America and "to encourage the cause of democracy by aiding the German nation to establish a government responsible to the people." This organization functioned as the German Bureau of this division. Mr. Julius Koettgen has acted as executive secretary of the organization and as manager of the German Bureau from the first. Branches of the American Friends of German Democracy carried on local work in the 12 main German-American centers.

The main work of the organization was done through the press and through pamphlets. There was issued each week a bulletin up to November, 1918, and after that weekly news releases were sent out containing important Government information and specialized material on the war and conditions in Europe which would have wide influence on persons of German descent. Much German propaganda was overcome in this way. Nearly 150 articles of this sort were sent

to the 200 most important German-language papers, to about 400 American papers reaching persons of German descent, and to 200 special individuals. About 2,000,000 readers were reached through these articles. A million copies of the following 20 pamphlets were distributed:

The Root of the Evil; Democracy, the Heritage of All; German Militarism and Its German Accusers; The American Friends of German Democracy; The Spirit of America; Lieber and Schurz, Two Loyal Americans of German Birth; A Call Issued by the Friends of German Democracy; No Qualified Americanism; A Plea to German-Americans for Unity of Purpose; What President Wilson Thinks of the Friends of German Democracy; On Americanism; The Poison Growth of Prussianism; The Government of Germany; On Loyalty, Liberty, and Democracy; The Democratic Rising of the German People in the Years 1848 and 1849; Germany's Confession; Meine Londener Mission, 1912-1914; America's War Aims and Peace Program; Amerikas Kriegsziele und Friendensprogramm; Editions of *Freie Zeitung*, of Berne, Switzerland.

Four organizers were in the field constantly until the first of the year 1919 visiting the German-American colonies, arranging and addressing meetings and establishing close personal contacts. One organizer spoke at 50 meetings, reaching 32,000 people. In the draft, Liberty loan, and war savings stamp campaigns and in all other war activities this organization was one of the chief instruments for reaching those of German descent.

An important achievement of the American Friends of German Democracy was the sending of frequent letters and appeals, which told the truth about America in the war, to certain groups in Switzerland who were able to get many of them into Germany, also the generous support given to the *Freie Zeitung*, the German paper in Berne that preached against Prussianism with such tremendous effect.

Trips by the bureau manager to communities having numbers of persons of German descent revealed many possibilities for bringing a fuller understanding of America to these groups. A spirit of cooperation was found among many of the organizations and societies.

The German Bureau has collected valuable information on the various German groups in this country, their organization, their press, the methods by which German propaganda made headway and the successful methods of overcoming it.

Many reports have been furnished various Government departments on matters pertaining to this group, and it can be stated that the Bureau has a very thorough grasp on the German-American situation as it exists at present.

#### HUNGARIAN BUREAU.

This bureau, under the management of Mr. Markus, received whole-hearted support from the Hungarian language press. From November, 1918, to April 15, 1919, 54 articles based on Government material were released by the bureau and published in practically all the 28 Hungarian papers extensively.

As a result of many inquiries coming to the Hungarian Bureau a pamphlet was compiled, "A Message to American Hungarians," in Hungarian and English, containing much practical and official information; 25,000 of these were distributed to organizations and individuals, employers, boards of education, and libraries. All were given on request only. An additional 10,000 copies had to be printed almost immediately.

Several circular letters containing Government information were sent to 500 or more organizations and societies. Close contacts with these latter were also maintained through two questionnaires sent out to learn of their activities and information that they desired.

Besides the extensive dissemination of information on Government activities through the press, the Hungarian Bureau also aided the Labor Department by furnishing the employment service with a complete list of Hungarian organizations and societies in the United States and by making an interesting study, through one of its questionnaires, of the help Hungarians were receiving from the employment service's local offices. The Liberty loan committees were supplied with 25,000 names of Hungarians. For the Red Cross numerous letters were translated.

The manager of the bureau visited six important Hungarian communities and attended several mass meetings and conferences.

## ITALIAN BUREAU.

The Italian Bureau was organized under the name of the Roman Legion of America in April, 1918, with Dr. Antonio Stella as president and Dr. Albert C. Bonaschi as executive secretary. After the armistice the name, "Roman Legion," was dropped and the organization's work was continued by the Italian Bureau under the management of Dr. Bonaschi. Divisions of the Roman Legion of America were established in every State and their members rendered splendid service throughout the war period. Particular aid was given in all Liberty loan and war-savings stamps campaigns, in patriotic celebrations, in the distribution of official pamphlets, and in rendering any service any Government department asked. Much aid was given the authorities during the draft. Following the disbanding of the Roman Legion of America its members continued to give this same cooperation to the Italian Bureau.

Four hundred and eighty-eight articles based on Government material and on foreign information had been released to the 256 Italian newspapers. Practically the entire Italian population is reached through their press. Its unanimous cooperation with the Italian Bureau therefore gained for our material the widest possible attention. Every Italian paper used the bureau's releases.

One trip covering all the large Italian centers was made by the Italian Bureau's manager and the heartiest relations with the various Italian organizations and leaders were established.

For the month previous to registration a large part of the bureau's activities were devoted to seeing that full information reached every Italian on the provisions of the law. Close connections were maintained with the Provost Marshal General's Office and practically all their material was translated and released by the bureau.

Following the armistice the Italian Bureau cooperated with the Internal Revenue Department in not only releasing numerous articles giving full explanation of the income tax law, but also gave personal assistance to hundreds of cases referred to it.

## RUSSIAN BUREAU.

The Russian Bureau started its activities in November, 1918, under the management of Mr. Joseph Polonsky. Its work has been carried on through its press releases; trips by the manager and assistant to the principal Russian centers; cooperation with Russian societies; pamphlets; and lectures.

The bureau has released 97 articles to the 19 Russian papers. All but two have used these releases; an excellent degree of support has come from all but these two.

Close contacts with Russian groups have been established through the visits made on one or more occasions to the chief Russian colonies.

Russian societies have assisted the bureau in giving much information as to the kind of bureau activities most needed and acceptable among Russian speaking people, and in helping arrange for the three lecture tours made by Prof. Galatsky and Dr. Krinkin.

These lectures were on "Abraham Lincoln and the American Democracy," "What we Russians can learn from America," and the "League of Nations," and were followed by most favorable results.

Pamphlets on Abraham Lincoln and the League of Nations were published in response to requests, and 35,000 were distributed to organizations, societies, libraries, and individuals. Many hearty endorsements of the pamphlets and lectures have been received.

Besides giving wide circulation to the information from the various Government departments, the bureau has given much assistance to individuals, through letters and calls, on matters such as the income tax, war risk insurance, and agricultural and land reclamation matters.

The bureau has had a most difficult task owing to the situation in Russia, and the many misunderstandings prevalent, but nevertheless it has steadily gained and its work has been shown not only to be necessary but increasingly appreciated.

## JUGOSLAV BUREAU.

The Jugoslav Bureau was organized with Mr. Peter Mladineo in charge. Its work has been along the equally im-

portant lines of work with the press, with Jugoslav organizations and societies, and through trips and meetings attended by the manager.

Through the press work about 65 Government information articles were released to 26 papers. All but 2 used extensively the bureau's material. These releases all had to be written in two languages—the Serbo-Croatian and Slovenian.

While the Jugoslav press influence is very important, it does not reach the people so universally as that of other groups.

Of equal importance, therefore, was the information sent and relations maintained with the organizations and societies which are exceedingly numerous and representative in their membership.

Ten circulars were sent to about 2,500 societies, on such important matters as the draft, income tax, and relief for Jugoslavs in Europe.

Several trips by the manager were made to Jugoslav settlements, including the very important ones in Texas and Louisiana, Chicago and other points in Illinois, Kansas City, St. Louis, Cleveland, and Pittsburgh. The most helpful understanding was thus established between all the Jugoslav groups and the bureau, and the latter was enabled to learn what information and work were most necessary among its people.

Considerable aid was given the Jugoslav relief, through press notices and through personal counsel of the manager.

Much data has been filed by the manager on the Jugoslavs, their European history, their immigration to America, and their present status here. Great help was given in the draft by seeing that all Jugoslavs were fully informed on the questionnaires. The Internal Revenue Department was greatly assisted by the news releases sent the press and organizations giving the provisions of the law, and, further, by the numerous individual cases aided by the bureau. Translation work was done for several Government departments.

The above summaries are no more than suggestions of the work of the 14 bureaus. A full report is on file from each one, together with detailed information on their newspapers. A brief statement of the important aspects of the work as a whole follows.

*Method.*—Along its first general line of giving Government information to the foreign born and cooperating with Government departments, the division's activities fall under the five heads of work through the foreign-language press; work through the foreign-language organizations; field work; pamphlets. While the bureaus all had the same aim for their work, and all employed certain similar methods, each group presented problems entirely its own and demanded specialized attention. The press and the organizations, national and local, were the nucleus of the work of all the bureaus. For some they assured a hearing for the bureau's message among practically all the members of that group. Chief among this class are the Italian, the Czechoslovak, and the Scandinavian groups.

These bureau managers devoted practically their efforts to the press work and to circular letters to organizations, although they established contacts with their people through trips made to their largest colonies during the initial stages of their work.

For other foreign-language groups, such as the Russian, Polish, Jugoslav, and Ukrainian, the press alone was not a sufficient means of contact. The publication of pamphlets and considerable work through trips was therefore undertaken by these bureau managers.

The Polish, Lithuanian, Hungarian, and Ukrainian Bureaus did about an equal amount of their work through press and organization contacts and through field work.

*Press work.*—For these 14 foreign language groups there are approximately 865 foreign language newspapers. About 745 of this number are issued regularly and were received by the bureaus. One-third of the remaining 150 not received by the bureaus were published at very irregular intervals.

The news service was not started by five bureaus until November, 1918. By these five bureaus, together with the other nine, whose news releases started during the spring of 1918, there were sent out an approximate total of 2,318 news releases to these 745 foreign language newspapers. Only 32 papers did not use the material, all but three of these being small papers of a highly specialized character; 96 per cent of the papers availed themselves extensively of the material. Very many papers used all but a few releases. It was a fre-

quent occurrence to have foreign language papers come in carrying on their front page two or three columns of the bureaus' material. These 2,318 releases were based on material from the following Government sources:

State Department (Bureau of Passport Control); Departments of War and Navy; Military Intelligence; Provost Marshal General's Office; Department of Labor (United States Employment Service, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Naturalization Bureau, Immigration Bureau); Fuel Administration; Food Administration; Treasury Department (Internal Revenue, Public Health, Foreign Language Division); Department of The Interior (Bureau of Mines, Reclamation Service, Bureau of Education); Department of Agriculture; Railroad Administration; Shipping Board; War Trade Board; Department of Commerce; Council of National Defense; Post Office; War Labor Policies Board; Red Cross.

The Departments of Labor, War, Internal Revenue, and Agriculture are those whose material was most extensively used and most desired.

*Work with organizations.*—National and local organizations, fraternal, educational, religious, beneficial, and social in type, are a powerful factor among the foreign speaking groups. Their conventions bring together hundreds of delegates from all the various centers of the foreign-language groups, and their activities and influence are far-reaching.

The information on Government activities prepared in the form of bulletins or circular letters by the bureaus and sent to these organizations was insured a complete hearing by their members. Draft and registration circulars, regulations issued by the Passport Control Division of the Department of State, income-tax provisions, were carefully and thoroughly distributed by them. They also gave most valuable and suggestive advice as to the needs and desires of their groups for instruction and understanding.

*Pamphlets.*—While there was no need to issue pamphlets in any large quantity because of the facilities offered us for reaching foreign-language groups by their press organizations, the following (in addition to the German pamphlets) were printed as a result of a desire and need found to exist for them and had a distribution of about 120,000: "America

in War and Peace," in Ukrainian; "Venereal Diseases and How to Prevent Them," in Polish; "A Message to American-Hungarians," in Hungarian; "Abraham Lincoln," in Russian; "League of Nations," in Russian.

*Field work.*—All bureau managers, either when initiating the work or at frequent intervals during its continuance, learned through personal conference the situation among their groups and gained complete confidence from their people in their work. A total of 124 trips was made to 53 different cities and towns, all but 10 of these being visited by the majority of the managers.

The lectures arranged by the Russian Bureau as a result of the manager's trips proved so successful that one of the largest Russian settlements wanted the lecturer to come and live there. The following is quoted from the letter extending him the invitation:

You have done very much for the Russian colony of the city of \_\_\_\_\_. You even made our Bolsheviks think and speak about education. I often think now that if we had in \_\_\_\_\_ several people like you, many of the Russian workmen would have been saved from the Utopian Bolshevism, would not believe its idle promises, and would learn to govern themselves independently. Several of our members were present at the lecture and all were very much pleased and grateful to you. Our group has authorized me to ask you to come to live in \_\_\_\_\_. You are a man of science, and we have no educated people among us. You know that the mind of the Russian workmen has been moved from its former standpoint; it wants to go somewhere, but it does not know the way. If you, the intelligent people, will not help it to find the way, other unscrupulous people will take advantage of the occasion.

The never-failing response to the bureaus' work and purpose was the best proof of the attitude of the foreign-speaking people toward it. Many other indorsements were given in editorials and news columns and in letters to the bureaus.

*What the work has revealed about the foreign-language groups.*—Of equal importance with this work of reaching the foreign-speaking groups with information as described has been what this work has revealed about these groups. The war gave a chance for a dramatic and striking manifestation of their services and loyalty to the country. After the armistice their interest and devotion was just as great in

helping in the difficult transition and reconstruction problems. The same unreserved spirit with which they had enlisted in the Army, and in the Liberty loan and war-savings stamp campaigns, marked their efforts in peace, in encouraging all their people to become citizens, to learn English, to carry out any suggestions coming from Government sources. Numerous printing concerns have offered to print and distribute among their people books on American history, civics, and the Constitution. Editors of several groups have been running serials on citizenship and wish to carry translations of the best American stories in their papers. They have asked us to suggest these and to get translation rights for them.

While it is true that large numbers of these foreign-born people are at the present moment returning to the old country, it is the consensus of opinion among the best informed among them that very few of them expect to remain, or in going cease to consider America their home. It is a most understandable desire to find out what has happened to their families, their little property, after four years of war sufferings, and complete lack of communication with them.

A remark in the Czech-Slovak manager's report, equally applicable to the other groups, sums up the situation. She had been talking with many editors and leaders among Czech-Slovaks, particularly on various Americanization projects.

The reception was everywhere favorable, although some men felt that they were asked to do what they have been doing all along.

*Foreign Information Service.*—To bring to the attention of the public some of these significant facts we started in August, 1918, the Foreign Information Service, directed by Mr. Donald Breed, until November, and after that by Mr. Barrett Clark. To quote from Mr. Clark's report:

It has been the policy of this service to encourage the foreign-language groups of America by releasing stories telling of their co-operation with the Government in such matters as the Liberty loan, the Red Cross, etc., and to assist the foreign-language press not only in securing prompt and efficient cooperation with the Government departments, but by informing the American people through the native-language press of the work that had been done and was now being done by the foreign-language press in helping the foreigner to become a better American.

Over 50 such stories were released to 3,300 American papers and from clippings kept until the first of the year showed a wide and interested use. Typical among them are: "The Jugo-Slav Club," "Greek-American Boys Are Genuine Patriots," "Lithuanians Support Fourth Liberty Loan," "The Czecho-Slovaks in America," "Ukrainians in America Eager for Education," and "Russian-Americans Aid America in Bond Sales." Fourteen "News Bulletins," giving a number of very brief accounts on the activities of the foreign born, were also sent out.

The Foreign Information Service acted also as the chief liaison between the Foreign Language Bureaus and the Government departments in getting the former the official information for their releases and also for the individual cases appealing to them. Also Mr. Clark had charge of translation rights for textbooks, stories, and plays for the foreign-language groups.

*Cooperation with Government departments.*—In addition to information service through press organizations, all bureaus did considerable translating of letters and articles for several Government departments and furnished them numerous reports concerning their group. Among these departments are especially the Fuel and Food Administrations, Departments of War, Labor, Interior, Internal Revenue, and Liberty loan committees.

*Draft and registration work.*—Highly intensive as well as extensive work was done in cooperation with the office of the Provost Marshal General. All the bureaus released for days before registration the fullest and clearest instructions which received columns of space daily in the press. Three enormous packages of the clippings and marked copies of one day's papers from the various bureaus were collected as an exhibit. Provost Marshal General Crowder wrote us the following letter in regard to the bureau's achievements:

I have already expressed to Mr. Creel my appreciation of the invaluable work done by all members of his staff in contributing to publicity on Registration Day. But I have an especial sentiment of gratitude to yourself, because the task of reaching the foreign born, who are unfamiliar with our language, seemed to me to be one of the most difficult, and perhaps beyond power of achievement.

But as I read your report of the methods employed, I am convinced that the task was fully accomplished. The daily arrivals of newspapers in foreign languages show how widespread are the ramifications of influence of your office, and have revealed to me what a powerful and effective agency the Government possesses. Your tact, energy, and ingenuity in utilizing this agency to its fullest, command my admiration, and I offer my personal thanks.

*Income-tax work.*—Far more exhaustive was the work done in cooperation with the Internal Revenue Department in explaining and helping work out the provisions of the revenue bill affecting aliens. A most critical situation was created among the foreign-speaking people by the law's failure to sufficiently define the terms "resident" and "non-resident" aliens, and by its provision that employers shall withhold 8 per cent from the wages of their nonresident employees, their total tax being 12 per cent as against the 6 per cent paid by citizens and resident aliens. The matter came to the attention of our bureau managers through letters and personal appeals from their people all over the country. Altogether nearly 3,000 of these appeals came in, showing a state of complete bewilderment and wretchedness.

It is almost impossible to choose from among these letters the most representative as all give a vivid picture of the conditions, but the following four from different language groups will give some idea of the situation:

GENTLEMEN: Please send me information as to income tax. How foreigners have to pay \* \* \* to whom.

The people that belong to my parish have paid more than they should—many married men who did not make to \$2,000 paid income tax more than \$35.

Please let me know to whom I am to appeal.

Truly yours,

— — —

RUSSIAN BUREAU: I, \_\_\_\_\_, beg the Russian Bureau to help me. The Russian immigrants are not able to pay the war (probably income) taxes. Some time ago I read in the papers that only those who earned more than \$1,000 a year have to pay the tax and only on what they earned over \$1,000; and I have paid \$12.07. But now in the factory they withhold more, and tell that I myself must pay \$145 for last year, and if I have to pay for this year also, I will have to pay more than \$300. And so I have to work, but do not get money to live on. And please explain me why they force us to take the American

papers. Those who do not want to take the papers are put out of work. And if I take the papers will I be able to go back to Russia? And why did they put the Russian people in such helpless position? They do not allow us to return to Russia, and here it is now impossible to live.

And I beg the Russian Bureau to answer to my prayer, and to tell me what is going to become of the Russian immigrants.

DEAR SIR: Allow me to ask your advice concerning the income tax. I am working for the \_\_\_\_\_, Pittsburgh, Pa. The company withholds the tax from the wages. In 1918 I earned \$920. I paid \$18.40 income tax. That means two cents for each dollar. Now they make me pay 10 per cent more for 1918—that means 12 per cent altogether, and more over 8 per cent for 1919, and do not give any receipts. I can not understand how it is. There is nobody here who could explain it to me, for I do not speak English. I believe whatever anybody tells me and I pay.

Of course, I am willing to pay according to the law, because I know that the Government needs the tax, but I am afraid of being misled too often. I am a poor man, married, and have five children in Europe. So please let me know whether I have paid right. Answer soon.

Respectfully, yours,

GENTLEMEN: I wish to send my complaint against the \_\_\_\_\_, in St. Joseph, Mo. I am a poor man, and working very hard for my living. I do not know who is wronging me, either United States Government or the company. In the office they asked me whether I will go back to Europe; I answered yes. Then they told me that I have to pay the tax. I asked them what kind of a tax? For the year 1918. I said, all right, how much I have to pay? \$25, they told me. I said, never mind! Then they withhold my one week and half wages. I thought that I would get the third week pay, so I could pay to the grocer and the storekeeper. But nevertheless they withheld the third pay. I was supposed to get \$19.58, and they gave me only \$3.80. What will I do; poor unfortunate man? I went to the superintendent and asked him for receipt. He refused. Now, whom shall I ask for it? I asked him whether I will get full pay for the fourth week? He said, no! To tell you the truth, I cried after I left the office. I really do not know how I can make a living.

Please accept my request, and help me in my grievance. Is it the same proceeding for everybody, or only for me? Does America allow the companies to exploit the poor people in such way?

Respectfully, yours,

Extensive overpayment of the income tax was shown in these complaints. Resident aliens were denied their exemption rights by being wrongly classed as nonresidents; and nonresident aliens legally allowed certain exemptions did not

receive them. Instead of withholding the tax on each pay day, many employers were taking it in a lump sum, frequently amounting to an entire week's wages, or more. Many aliens in the resident class were being considered nonresidents because of their refusal to sign a "blue slip" stating intention of residence (see attached Form 1078 A), which they believed meant they could never go back to Europe for a visit, and was some sort of an enforced citizenship paper. An additional grievance was that receipts for wages thus withheld were rarely given.

In attempting to alleviate the various grave injustices thus resulting, the Internal Revenue Department in Washington showed most unusual sympathy and breadth of vision. Treasury decisions were extensively revised and any number of regulations drawn up with the intent of bettering matters. Form 1078 A, certificate of residence, was changed to Form 1078 B, which was a material improvement. Each of our bureaus released from 10 to 20 explanatory articles and gave their attention and answers to all the individual inquiries.

However, few employers have been informed thoroughly on the regulations and the situation is far from satisfactory. In our opinion it never can be as long as employers are made withholding agents. A complete report on the income tax as it has affected our groups with an analysis and translations of typical letters of complaints and with our suggestions is being submitted to the Commissioner of Internal Revenue.

More detailed information on all aspects of the work, records of newspapers, clippings, and special bureau reports are on file.

For years national unity and progress have demanded the release of the neglected potentialities of our millions of new Americans into a fuller participation in our country's life. For this there is necessary a mutual process of education of native and foreign born. Full information on American life, opportunities, customs, and laws must reach the men and women coming here from foreign lands immediately upon their arrival. Necessarily it must be in their own language. The more they learn in this way of our fundamental democracy and the possibilities for them and their children in this country, the keener becomes their desire and efforts to learn "America's language." To withhold this information

or delay it until, according to theoretic calculation, these immigrants have had time to acquire English, is to deliberately create a period of cruel bewilderment and false impressions for them which dampens whatever enthusiasm they had originally to study English. The numerous un-American conditions and injustices to which so many immigrants have fallen victims must be wiped out. Explanations and instruction about America given to the fullest extent carry little weight when individuals have been wronged.

The ignorance of many native-born Americans about European peoples and their contemptuous attitude toward persons with different customs from their own are just as serious obstacles to assimilation and unity as the tendency of some immigrants to cling to Old World ways; understanding must come, on our part, of the heritages of these newcomers, their suffering and struggles in Europe, and the contributions they bring us if we will only receive them.

#### GUARDING AMERICA'S REPUTATION ABROAD.

By action of Congress motion-picture film could not be exported except under license from the War Trade Board. This provision was used by the Committee on Public Information of getting helpful pictures into foreign countries even while keeping out the hurtful kind. By courtesy of the War Trade Board all applications for export licenses were referred to the committee and were granted or refused as the report was favorable or unfavorable.

What we wanted to get into foreign countries were pictures that presented the wholesome life of America, giving fair ideas of our people and our institutions. What we wanted to keep out of world circulation were the "thrillers" that gave entirely false impressions of American life and morals. Film dramas portraying the exploits of "Gyp the Blood," or reproducing the lawless life of the old western frontier, were bound to prejudice our fight for the good opinion of neutral nations.

Offices were opened in New York and when applications for export licenses were made the pictures themselves were examined by competent committees in which the Army, the Navy, and the customs were equally represented. As the

motion-picture industry commenced to understand our purpose and realized that we stood ready to expedite all proper licenses, as well as to make the fight for shipping space, the cooperation became enthusiastic. Not only was it the case that all harmful film was barred from export, but producers became more and more willing to incorporate a large percentage of "educational pictures" in their shipments. "Educational" in our sense of the word meant film that showed our schools, our industrial life, our war preparations, our natural resources, and our social progress.

The spirit of cooperation reduced the element of friction to a minimum. Oftentimes it was the case that a picture could be made helpful by a change in title, or the elimination of a scene, and in no instance did a producer fail to make the alterations suggested. During its existence, according to the report of Lieut. John Tuerk, loaned to the committee by the Army, over 8,000 motion pictures were reviewed, the greater percentage of which went forward into foreign countries with the true message from America. The Secretary of War has been informed of the splendid service rendered by Lieut. Tuerk in the conduct of this important division.

#### SHOWING AMERICA TO THE FOREIGN PRESS.

In many respects, one of the most effective ideas of the Committee on Public Information was the bringing to the United States, from time to time, of delegations of foreign newspaper men in order that they might "see with their own eyes, hear with their own ears," and upon their return be able to report fully on America's morale and effort.

Mr. Robert H. Murray, our commissioner in Mexico, assembled the first of these visitors, inviting representatives of the following papers: *El Universal*, *El Excelsior*, *El Nacional*, *A. B. C.*, *El Economista*, *El Revistas de Revistas*, all of Mexico City; *El Dictamen*, *Vera Cruz*; *La Prensa*, Puebla; *El Informador*, *Saltillo*; *El Liberal*, *Saltillo*; *El Progresso*, *El Liberal*, and *Nuevo Patria*, all of Monterey; *La Prensa*, Tampico.

Lieut. P. S. O'Reilly, borrowed from the Cable Censorship by reason of a long association with Spanish-speaking peo-

ples, took the party in charge for the committee, and a tour was arranged that covered the United States.

Their itinerary included the following cities and points of interest: New Orleans, La.; Atlanta, Ga.; Washington, D. C., where the delegation was received and addressed by President Wilson and where the Pan American Bureau entertained it and the Mexicans were afforded an opportunity of seeing many governmental works; Annapolis, Md., for inspection of the United States Naval Academy; Camp Meade, Md., for inspection of a typical United States cantonment; Philadelphia, Pa., for view of the Hog Island Shipbuilding Yard; South Bethlehem, Pa., for inspection of the Bethlehem Steel Works; New York City, for inspection of the United States Military Academy, at West Point, and numerous war factories in and around New York; Boston, Mass., for inspection of shipbuilding plants; Schenectady, N. Y., for inspection of the plant of the General Electric Co.; Buffalo, N. Y., for inspection of the Curtiss Aviation Co.; Detroit, Mich., for view of various plants making Liberty motors and planes; Chicago, Ill., for view of various steel plants, packing houses, etc.; St. Paul and Minneapolis, Minn., for study of the milling centers; Yakima, Wash., for a view of a United States reclamation project; Seattle, Wash., for study of west coast shipbuilding; Portland, Oreg., for study of west coast shipbuilding, and San Francisco for the same purpose; Los Angeles; and back to Mexico via San Antonio and Laredo.

Chambers of commerce, boards of trade, various other civic and business organizations and business firms and individuals throughout the country aided splendidly in making the Mexicans feel at home and in impressing them with the good will and friendship which the people of the United States felt for the people south of the Rio Grande. Many business firms and individuals entertained these Mexican guests of the American Nation and contributed not a little to making them, on their return to their native country, enthusiastic "boasters" for the United States. The speech which President Wilson made to the delegation in Washington—and which was distributed throughout Central and South America by the Foreign Press Cable Service—was a very effective weapon against the sort of German propaganda then being spread over Latin-America.

Six of the most distinguished journalists of Switzerland, invited by Mrs. Whitehouse, and their acceptances approved by the Swiss Government, were received and toured in the same manner. Likewise a delegation of the leading newspaper men of Italy, and also the leaders of the Scandinavian press. Other visits, under way, had to be canceled by reason of the armistice.

There can be no question as to the signal success of these visits, for the effect of them was instant and lasting. The very fact that we were willing to let our war progress be seen and judged was impressive at the outset; the visitors, while in the United States, sent daily and enthusiastic letters, supplemented by cables, and upon their return, each wrote pages, while many even gave a series of lectures on the American effort. Particularly was this true in the case of the Swiss.

In line with this policy the foreign correspondents on duty in the United States, having been formed into an association, were taken over the United States as guests of the Committee on Public Information, and given unusual privileges of observation. Our first effort was to answer the German lie that America's shipbuilding was a "bluff."

Permission for the unprecedented step of showing the secret processes of certain American shipbuilding yards was finally obtained from the Government departments concerned, and about 20 foreign journalists were taken on a tour which embraced the yards of the New York Shipbuilding Co., at Camden, N. J.; the American International plant, at Hog Island, Pa.; the Squantum and Quincy plants of the Fore River Shipbuilding Co., outside of Boston, Mass.; the Brooklyn Navy Yard, and the Newark plant of the Submarine Boat Corporation. Each correspondent who made the trip was under no pledge as to the character of the matter he was to write, and the only pledges asked were with respect to certain secrets of construction.

Judging from the publicity to the American shipbuilding program which resulted, the trip was an immense success. All of the foreign correspondents were more than anxious to present America's viewpoint and more than enthusiastic over America's accomplishments. Matter written by these correspondents was published all over England, France, Italy,

and South America, and reproduced in countries still more distant.

Necessary permission having been secured, the foreign correspondents were next sent on a tour of the Middle West to study aviation progress. At Detroit the plant of the Packard Motor Co.—engaged in making Liberty motors—was thoroughly inspected, the first time that such a permission had been granted. The Army authorities, thoroughly awake to the propaganda value of the plan, relaxed their stern rule against civilians and granted the correspondents fullest freedom at the special testing field outside of Detroit. The plant of Henry Ford, making cylinders for the Liberty motors, was inspected.

The correspondents then traveled to Chicago. They were greatly interested in the Great Lakes Naval Training Station, where America's new Navy was partly in the making. They were made to realize something of the gigantic responsibilities which the United States had shouldered in its self-assumed task of feeding the world by a detailed view of the Union Stock Yards and the great packing plants of Chicago. One day was also spent in investigating the making of munitions at the plant of the International Harvester Co. Another day was spent visiting the great war plant of the Rock Island Arsenal.

The third trip undertaken was in response to earnest pleas from the correspondents that they be permitted to visit briefly with President Wilson himself. The President consented to receive the correspondents at the White House, and in a remarkable interview, laid bare his own thought as well as his conception of the ideals of America. The correspondents were then taken to Old Point Comfort where they saw the plant of the Newport News Shipbuilding Co., inspected the heavy artillery school at Fortress Monroe, saw the training of naval aviators at Langley Field, Hampton Roads, and the vast embarkation works in and around that harbor.

The fourth trip was a corollary to the Detroit-Chicago-Rock Island inspection. It was designed to show the correspondents certain American aviation plants in operation. The correspondents were taken to Dayton, where they went over the plant of the Dayton-Wright Co., and as many as

desired were afforded the opportunity of going aloft in a Liberty plane. The same inspection and the same opportunity was afforded them at Buffalo, where they went through the great plant of the Curtiss Co.

These trips were of incalculable value in American propaganda work. The articles were written on the basis of what had been seen by the eyes of foreigners with the individual correspondent's own realization of the facts which would most appeal to his own reading public. It should be added that Mr. Perry Arnold, who conducted these correspondents on each trip, himself prepared numerous articles covering what had been seen which were extensively circulated in Europe and South America.

The newspaper men of Spain, some from the Scandinavian countries, from England and from Holland, were also taken to the firing line in France by representatives of the Committee on Public Information, and as in the case of the American tours, the results were remarkably good.

## PART II.

### Work of the Foreign Section of the Committee on Public Information.

As chairman of the committee, keenly aware that many of its activities were new and even alien to the American process, I exercised personal direction of all foreign work until January, 1918, when Mr. Will Irwin, returning from Europe, volunteered his services to the national cause. He was made director of the Foreign Section, discharging the duties with devotion and rare intelligence, and upon Mr. Irwin's resignation after carrying through the great Fourth of July celebration, Mr. Edgar Sisson, back from Russia, was given the post, bringing to the work the same organizing genius that marked his conduct of the Russian mission.

The Foreign Section had three divisions: The Wireless and Cable Service; the Mail Feature Service; Motion Pictures. In each capital, in neutral and friendly belligerent countries, a fully manned office was maintained for the distribution of news and articles and film, for the handling of speakers, arrangement of window displays, and the general spread of the truth about America by every possible means.

## WIRELESS AND CABLE SERVICE.

"COMPUB," as its cable code address, has come to advertise it throughout the world, was organized in September, 1917, to meet a pressing need. Enemy propaganda, always exceedingly active, concentrated almost immediately upon America when we entered the war, seeking clearly and persistently to attribute selfish motives to us or persistently belittling the war effort which America might hope to make.

The United States, alone of the great nations of the world, had never conducted a propaganda movement. For years preceding the war Germany had been secretly building a vast publicity machine in every corner of the earth, designed to overwhelm all foreign peoples with pictures of Germany's vast power, her overwhelming preeminence in industry, commerce, and the arts. German agents, carefully selected from among her journalists and authors, neglected no opportunities for presenting Germany's case to readers of every language. Her commercial firms linked a propaganda of liberal credits with this newspaper campaign throughout the world.

Great Britain, through Reuters, likewise conducted a governmental propaganda. France had official connection with the Havas agency. Both England and France, through ownership or liberal subsidy of certain great cable arteries, could direct currents of public opinion in channels favorable to themselves. Other nations had publicity machines of varying types.

America controlled no cables; manipulated no press associations; operated no propaganda machinery of any type. America was therefore an easy target for the perfected machinery of the German propaganda system. Even the news which was sent day by day from America was for the greater part by far transmitted over cables controlled by foreign governments; more than that, it was almost entirely written and prepared by foreigners. True, these writers were at the time of America's entrance into the war, intensely sympathetic, but not fully acquainted with America or the Americans. Even the firmest friends of America could not know the nation's heart and soul as a native American could. Germany herself, with all her expensive propa-

ganda organization in the United States from 1914 to 1917, did not read the heart of America aright. But that German publicity organization, with customary German thoroughness, devoted much time during its stay in the United States to mapping out future campaigns in which the United States should be attacked by that most insidious weapon of modern warfare—the press of the world. How to meet the attack presented many problems.

The cables, practically all foreign owned, were at that time so clogged as to endanger even vital war business with their delays. The mail was uncertain. Moreover the need was for day by day *fresh* news. In this emergency, Secretary Daniels placed at the disposal of the committee the wireless stations of the United States, all under control of the Navy Department.

Mr. Walter S. Rogers, of Chicago, for years a close student of communication problems, was selected to be of the service, and Mr. Perry Arnold, cable editor of the United Press, was secured to serve as his associate. From the first it was determined that our service should be *news*, not biased viewpoint articles or arguments.

Through the active cooperation of Capt. D. W. Todd, Chief of the Naval Communications Service, arrangements were effected whereby the Navy undertook the sending of a limited amount of daily matter, and our first service was from Tuckerton to the wireless station of the French Government at Lyons. The French governmental authorities entered heartily into our plans, as did the great French press associations—the Agence Havas and the Agence Radio. After translation and distribution to the press of France the Paris office relayed the American matter to the committee's representatives in Italy, Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, and other near-by nations.

The next step in the world dissemination of news came through arrangements heartily entered into by the British Government. The same wireless report sent to Lyons was intercepted by American Navy operators at the American naval base, and relayed to London, where the representatives of the committee received it, and distributed it to the English press.

Following the establishment of offices in Paris and London representatives were sent to open American publicity centers in Rome, Madrid, Berne, Petrograd, Moscow, The Hague, Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Christiania.

South America had long been a fertile field for German propaganda, and through the courtesy of the Navy Censorship, Lieut. F. E. Ackerman, a journalist of wide experience, was sent on a tour of South America to study methods of news distribution, to organize Compub offices, and generally plan to get America's story before our Pan American friends. He visited Pernambuco and Rio de Janeiro, Santiago, Lima, Valparaiso, Buenos Aires, and numerous other South American cities. Offices were opened at all focal points; and, with the hearty cooperation of American diplomatic and consular officials, soon had an intensive publicity campaign on throughout South America.

Another agent of the division, Mr. J. E. McConaughey, was sent to Central America. He performed a similar work of organization in that section. Mr. John Collins was "borrowed" from the Panama Canal Board, and organized an office in Panama City for the relay of dispatches from New York to Central American points. The Naval Communications Office instituted a special sending circuit to Darien, Panama, to take care of a special service, which was turned over to Mr. Collins, translated and relayed by him to many cities in Central America, where no other news was received from any source.

The trans-Pacific work had by this time so increased that organization of an office in San Francisco for preparation of propaganda matter was imperative. Mr. W. B. Clausen was "loaned" to the division by the Associated Press. He began the preparation of a report averaging 500 words daily, which was transmitted by the Navy wireless from San Francisco to Pearl Harbor (Honolulu, Hawaii), thence relayed by Navy wireless to Manila, P. I., and intercepted at Guam by the Navy wireless system there. At Guam this report was sent by cable north and south—north into Japan and south into China. At China the matter was received by Mr. Carl Crow, a Compub agent, and by him distributed through a specially organized Chinese-American news service. Mr.

Crow also relayed matter to American soldiers in Siberia. In Japan the matter was received by both the Kokusai and the Nippon Dempo agencies and used by them as they saw fit.

As the importance of the work became apparent and its results showed, the service increased its output. The regular wireless "report" was increased in size, the Navy's splendid efficiency in radio transmission permitting this expansion. Utilization was also made of the cables. Where some important official statement was released and publication desired abroad, this division, with the cooperation of the Foreign Press Association and correspondents, sent such statements for simultaneous delivery and release.

#### DISSEMINATION OF PRESIDENT WILSON'S SPEECHES.

Early in its history the committee recognized the importance of distribution throughout the world of the speeches and message to Congress of President Wilson. The President of the United States was looked upon as the spokesman for the Allies. It was he who sounded the keynote of America's policy in the war. All foreign newspaper correspondents in the United States had always regarded the utterances of the President as most important. But because of the congestion on the cables, no less than the enormous expense of cable tolls, it was difficult to expect that President Wilson's messages and speeches would be printed in full in European newspapers. Not only this, but it was found that the crafty German propaganda machine had no scruples in issuing false translations of speeches by President Wilson nor suppressing great sections and circulating the incorrect text, not alone in Germany but in neutral nations.

This division therefore undertook the work of distributing these keynote speeches textually, at first to England, France, Italy, and Russia, then, in response to a demand, to the four quarters of the civilized globe.

The Foreign Press-Cable Service could not have undertaken this vast work except by the heartiest and fullest cooperation of the great world press agencies. The Foreign Press Division paid the cable and telegraph tolls on the speeches and messages, plus a small overhead charge, which only partially covered the immense expenditure of time and

energy in the distribution. The great Agence Havas and Agence Radio were equally helpful. So was the Maison de la Presse, the official French Government propaganda agency. Reuter's aided in handling messages to the Pacific and the Orient. The American press associations, the Associated Press and United Press, together with the Agence Havas, aided in distribution in South America.

The following outline of how these speeches or messages of President Wilson were circulated throughout the world will illustrate how thorough a scheme of distribution was eventually devised:

*England*.—Message sent (in one sending) with multiple address to Reuter's, Exchange Telegraph, Central News (all three being the principal British news services), and to Compub (the code address of this division in London). Distributed throughout England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales by these news agencies.

*France*.—Message sent (in one sending) with multiple address to Agence Havas, Agence Radio, Maison de la Presse, and Compub. Distributed by these agencies to the whole of the French press, translation being made by each service.

*Italy*.—Served through the Italian press associations and Compub in Rome, the Italian associations receiving text from the French associations with which they had arrangements for interchange of news.

*Spain*.—Served through Spanish press associations and Compub in Madrid by cooperation of the French news agencies which dealt with branches in Spain and likewise through agents of the French propaganda service.

*Switzerland*.—Served by telephone from Paris to Compub offices in Berne, where a representative of the Committee on Public Information had effected arrangements with several Swiss news agencies.

*Holland*.—Served through Reuter's agency and Compub's offices in The Hague.

*Scandinavia*.—Served through Reuter's subsidiary agencies and by Compub representatives in Stockholm, Christiania, and Copenhagen, and also through cooperation of American diplomatic and consular representatives.

*Russia*.—Served through Compub representative in Archangel by cooperation of the British Government controlling the cable from England to Russia.

*Australasia*.—Served through the Australian Press Association and branches of Reuter's throughout Australia, New Zealand, and other South Sea Islands.

*Japan*.—Served through the Kokusai News Agency (a subsidiary of Reuter's) and the Nippon Dempo, an independent news agency.

*China*.—Served through Shanghai and Pekin through cooperation of Reuter's and with assistance from a Compub representative in Shanghai.

*Siberia*.—Served by relay through Vladivostok from Compub's representative in Shanghai and also by wireless intercepted at Vladivostok and Omsk by Compub offices.

*South America*.—Served through cooperation of American diplomatic and consular officials, Compub's own representatives at Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires, Lima, and Santiago de Chile, and the Agence Havas, the Associated Press, and the United Press.

*Central America*.—Served through special arrangements with the Central and South American Cable Co., which handled "drop" copies of all messages to scores of stations on both coasts, which were distributed through cooperation of American diplomatic and consular agents. The Compub Division also maintained an office at Panama, which aided in such distribution.

*Mexico*.—Compub's own representative at Mexico City handled all such messages, aided by cooperation of the United Press.

*India*.—Served through branches of Reuter's Agency.

*South Africa*.—Served through branches of Reuter's Agency.

*Greece*.—Served through the French Government's cooperation by delivery of matter to Salonika.

*Egypt*.—Served through Reuter's Agency.

*Miscellaneous*.—Practically all messages were "broadcasted" from all American wireless stations of the United States Naval Communications Service for information of ships at sea and for interception by whatever stations desired to listen in.

Canadian press associations carried all presidential speeches, through their relationship with American press associations.

Liberia received all speeches and messages by mail from the nearest point.

Teheran, Persia, got all such matter textually from Aden.

Special effort was made by Compub's representatives in Switzerland and Holland to secure publication of all such documents in newspapers which it was known circulated extensively in Germany.

#### ENEMY PROPAGANDA STUDIED.

Throughout its history, Compub, through cooperation with the Army and Navy intelligence offices, kept in the closest possible touch with the trend of enemy propaganda. Its agents abroad reported on conditions frequently and in the New York office certain employees were detailed regularly to read and analyze all German propaganda material received here—a great part of it being wireless matter sent by the great German wireless station at Nauen and intercepted by the United States Navy Communications station.

By a cooperative arrangement with the publicity offices in America of our Allies, this office likewise distributed to the American press all of the official British propaganda wireless material (intercepted by the American wireless stations) and on occasion special announcements "broadcasted" by the stations of the French and Italian Governments.

#### SPECIAL MEXICAN NEWS SERVICE.

Mention has been made of the work of this division in giving news to Central American towns which had never before received a regular news report. In this work Compub was not departing from its rule never to compete with organized press agencies, for the simple reason that no press associations were entered in this field. The success of the experiment led to the establishment of a regular news service for afternoon newspapers in Mexico. Mr. Robert H. Murray, the committee's agent in Mexico City, reported that no private press agency served any afternoon newspapers in Mexico. He detailed how susceptible these newspapers were to subtle German propaganda and how their confidence might be gained for the United States if a brief world news summary were delivered to them.

With due consideration to the fact that one great American press association—the Associated Press—was already serving morning newspapers in Mexico, and with its cooperation a 300-word service was filed from 9 a. m. to noon each day except Sunday. The service embraced world news of every character.

Of a similar character was the service inaugurated in February, 1918, and sent over the wires of the Haitian Cable Co. gratis. It was a world-news report, covering "spot" news only, and the cable company sent it everywhere on its lines free of cost across the Caribbean into the Antilles and to the northern coast of South America.

#### SUSTAINING SOLDIERS' MORALE.

Part of the work of Compub was to sustain Allied morale. Naturally, therefore, when means were under consideration to keep the morale of American soldiers at the highest pos-

sible pitch of efficiency, Compub was asked to assist. The great need of the American soldier overseas was felt to be news of home and of home folks. What news was printed was mostly of national affairs or of the war. There was no newspaper in Europe which could afford the expense of cabling items of purely local interest to the boy from Helena, Mont., or of Milwaukee, or San Francisco, or Cincinnati, or scores of other American cities. What was wanted was tiny bits of "*home news*" for soldiers—little local items which would keep him in touch with conditions in his home town, just as a letter from his chum, or his mother, brother, sister, or sweetheart, or wife would do.

The "home-news" department of the regular wireless report of the Foreign-Press-Cable Service was a development of this idea. The American press was combed by readers in the New York offices for "homy" news. A report of nearly 1,500 words daily was prepared from these small items of news, none of which in themselves averaged more than 50 words each. Every effort was made to cover the whole of the United States.

In the distribution of this matter to the soldier overseas the Foreign-Press-Cable Service had the cooperation of all American welfare services—the Young Men's Christian Association, Red Cross, Knights of Columbus, Young Men's Hebrew Association, Salvation Army, and others—as well as the Army authorities. The latter granted permission for transmission of these home-news items over Army wires from Paris to the front. The welfare organizations received copies in the huts close to the front and posted them for the benefit of the soldiers. Several welfare organizations in London and Paris printed a daily "newspaper" composed of these items and dispatched copies by mail to all recreation centers, hospitals, canteens, huts, etc., within reach. American sailors received them, Navy wireless operators copying them throughout the reach of the American wireless sending station.

#### FRONT NEWS SERVICE ESTABLISHED.

Early in the summer of 1918, when American troops entered in the "Great push," the division felt it desirable still further to extend its services of information. Mr. Perry

Arnold was sent abroad to study methods of news distribution and to organize a "news from the American front" service. He reorganized the committee's offices in London and Paris, visited the branch at Madrid and employed Maximilian Foster, the well-known novelist and writer, as the committee's representative at the front with the American Army, after himself having started such a service.

This service from the front was cabled and wirelessed throughout the world. It sought to give a day by day analysis of what American troops were doing in the great war. It was an amplification of the daily communiqué as issued by the Army authorities. The division found Gen. Pershing's staff at Chaumont—American headquarters—in full sympathy with its plan of telling the world exactly what American soldiers were doing and Compub's representative was accorded the fullest facility in visiting the front and in transmitting his dispatches via Army wires.

#### COOPERATION WITH THE WORLD PRESS.

From the inauguration of its services Compub impressed on all correspondents of foreign journals in this country that the division did not mean to compete with any existing news associations or newspapers; that there was no thought of setting up an exclusive news agency for transmission of American official statements and the like; that the division existed solely as a liaison between the United States Government and the peoples of the world.

When the service was organized, it established headquarters at 20 Broad Street, New York City, in the same building with the Navy cable censorship. It was then felt that the division should be in the closest touch with the day by day dispatches via the cables. It was part of the duty of the division to study the trend of thought exhibited in these dispatches and to aid in the development of certain lines of information no less than in the suppression of certain harmful tendencies. In this work the division grew to be in a measure, an advisory office in connection with the censorship.

One of the most important achievements of Compub was the organization of the foreign correspondents, a group of more than a score of distinguished journalists representing

great foreign newspapers and press associations. The correspondents readily appreciated the value of membership in an organization which was officially recognized by the Government, and granted special privileges and their association adopted by-laws stringently limiting membership to bona fide correspondents of foreign journals.

Mention of this particular phase of the division's work would not be complete without specific mention of the splendid spirit of cooperation manifested by the foreign correspondents themselves. All were journalists of high standing—men of unique experience in world journalism. All entered heartily into the work of presenting to their readers—numbering millions throughout the world—the exact facts as to America.

The cooperation of the foreign press, which was thus forcibly brought to the attention of the division, resulted in a new line of activity. By this time the division had established its own offices in a great many foreign capitals. Through these offices and representatives, it now undertook to supply special articles covering specific inquiries of foreign newspapers and periodicals. A great many foreign periodicals established "American Departments" and were supplied with special descriptive and feature articles by this division. Correspondents of foreign newspapers in America came to the division with requests for various matter or for permission to inspect certain American war activities.

#### PERSONNEL OF THE DIVISION.

At the time of the signing of the armistice, the personnel of the division had grown from two employees—Mr. Rogers and Mr. Arnold—to the following:

*New York office.*—Walter S. Rogers (director), Perry Arnold, Herman Suter, R. R. Reilly, Frank S. Gardiner, Theodore Wallen, R. J. Rochon, Lieuts. F. E. Ackerman and P. S. O'Reilly, E. F. Wilson, Miss Smith and a staff of stenographers and typists.

*San Francisco office.*—W. B. Clausen.

*Abroad.*—Maximilian Foster, representative at the American front; Paul V. Perry, in charge at London; A. M. Brace, in charge at Paris; John Collins, in charge at

Panama. In addition to these men, who devoted their entire time to handling the wireless and cable news, the commissioners of the committee, in charge in every capital, used these reports exclusively in their publicity campaigns.

#### POST-WAR WORK.

Immediately upon the signing of the armistice, orders were given to close every division of the Committee on Public Information with the exception of the wireless and cable service. It was not only the case that there still remained the necessity of putting true reports of the Peace Conference before the people of the world, but the press of America itself demanded aid in telling the story of Paris to the people of the United States.

The cables, already overburdened, became hopelessly jammed when an army of American newspapermen commenced to file daily dispatches in Paris for quick transmission.

Mr. Rogers proceeded to France at once, and after conference with the Associated Press, the United Press, the International News Service, and the correspondents of metropolitan dailies, it was agreed that Compub should make one sending by wireless of all textual matter official in its character. A "loop" wire in the Compub office at New York permitted simultaneous delivery to all three press associations in New York.

At no time was "propaganda" attempted. Only the bare text was sent of official speeches, official statements and official routine, the matter used in common by all papers. Nor was censorship of any sort attempted. The one purpose was the relief of the cables in the interest of full and speedy transmission of Paris news to the United States.

In time it was seen that an even larger measure of aid was necessary, and Compub secured from the Navy an additional allowance of 3,500 words daily, which was handed over to the correspondents' association to be used as the members decided. Even this matter was not censored or supervised, except as to length. The correspondents handed their "stories" in to Compub at Paris; they were transmitted over American army wires to the French wireless station at Lyon, and from Lyon they went by radio to the American wireless station at Otter-

*In aid of all  
and  
communications*

cliffe, Me., manned by United States Navy Communications operators. Here the matter was copied and relayed by Navy wire to Compub in New York, and dispatched immediately to the addressee. Correspondents of newspapers throughout the United States made use of this service. It was generally speedier by two or three hours than the overcrowded cables. Moreover, no charge was made by the Navy or the Foreign Press-Cable Service for overseas transmission—the only cost to the addressee being the telegraph tolls from the New York office of the Compub to the newspaper. All matter was sent to the addressees without change of a letter. To handle it, the New York offices of Compub were put on a 24-hour basis, to make speediest relay of press matter.

The practice of Compub in forwarding President Wilson's speeches and messages throughout the world was continued when the Chief Executive of the Nation went to Europe. The President was held to be the spokesman of the American idea and as such his utterances were waited for and read throughout the civilized world.

All of this informational work, as well as the relaying of dispatches to the American press, necessitated enlargement. Lieut. F. E. Ackerman, who had been temporarily assigned to work in another department of the Committee on Public Information, was brought back to handle a mail clipping service in charge of several clerks. Lieut. George S. Wheat, U. S. N. R. F., was detached from sea duty and assigned by the Navy Censorship to handle the day by day news summary. W. C. Garner, just discharged after overseas duty with the American Expeditionary Forces, was employed as cable assistant, having had extensive newspaper experience. Murdock Pemberton, recently released from the Navy after duty in the censorship department at New York, was employed as news editor. He likewise brought long newspaper training to the job. Elbert Severance joined the staff as cable assistant, after several years' newspaper experience. Additional employees were required for the night shifts.

On January 1 decision was made to discontinue the South American service.

## SUMMARY.

The total work accomplished by the Foreign Press-Cable Service may perhaps be best visualized by the following summary of actual wordage handled (estimated in part):

*Circulation of messages and speeches of President Wilson and other official statements.*

Date.	Nature of message.	Point of origin.	Number of words.
Dec. 4, 1917	Speech to Congress.....	Washington, D. C.....	3,831
Jan. 8, 1918	Speech on fourteen points.....	do.....	2,680
Feb. 11, 1918	America's war aims.....	do.....	2,476
Mar. 19, 1918	Dutch shipping.....	do.....	1,160
Apr. 6, 1918	Anniversary of America's entrance into the war.....	do.....	1,727
June 7, 1918	Address to Mexicans.....	do.....	3,520
July 4, 1918	Independence Day speech.....	do.....	1,514
July 14, 1918	Greetings to our Allies.....	do.....	156
Aug. 5, 1918	On San Salvador.....	do.....	169
Sept. 2, 1918	Re wheat prices.....	do.....	360
Sept. 16, 1918	Secretary Lansing's reply to Austria.....	do.....	100
Sept. 27, 1918	Speech on Liberty loan.....	do.....	2,710
Oct. 2, 1918	Women's suffrage.....	do.....	700
Oct. 12, 1918	Germany's peace acceptance (statement).....	do.....	331
Oct. 8, 1918	Statements regarding Germany's peace feelers.....	do.....	430
Oct. 14, 1918	Reply to Germany's note.....	do.....	670
Oct. 19, 1918	Austria's peace note and reply.....	do.....	407
Oct. 23, 1918	Secretary Lansing's reply to Germany.....	do.....	850
Oct. 25, 1918	President's appeal for nonpartisanship in war.....	do.....	690
Nov. 5, 1918	Address to German Government.....	do.....	480
Nov. 6, 1918	Address to Rumanian Government.....	do.....	195
Nov. 11, 1918	Armistice terms.....	do.....	349
Nov. 13, 1918	Foodstuffs for Germany.....	do.....	420
Nov. 13, 1918	Corrected armistice terms.....	do.....	1,825
Nov. 16, 1918	Letter to Germany.....	do.....	135
Nov. 23, 1918	President's message to Congress.....	do.....	4,428
Dec. 2, 1918	President's speech.....	Paris.....	1,747
Dec. 14, 1918	President's speech to Socialists.....	do.....	273
Dec. 16, 1918	President's speech at Hotel de Ville.....	do.....	2,122
Dec. 22, 1918	President's speech, Sorbonne.....	do.....	1,093
Dec. 25, 1918	President's speech, Christmas.....	do.....	1,284
Dec. 26, 1918	President's speech, Dover.....	London.....	717
Dec. 27, 1918	President's speech, Buckingham.....	do.....	674
Dec. 28, 1918	President's speech at Evangelical Church.....	do.....	152
Dec. 28, 1918	President's speech replying to Lord Mayor.....	do.....	1,144
Dec. 28, 1918	President's speech, Mansion House.....	do.....	636
Dec. 29, 1918	President's speech at Carlton.....	do.....	279
Dec. 30, 1918	President's speech at Manchester.....	Manchester.....	2,764
Jan. 3, 1919	President's speech in Italian Parliament.....	Rome.....	911
Jan. 3, 1919	President's speech at Quirinal.....	do.....	335
Jan. 4, 1919	President's statement about Italian people.....	do.....	692
Jan. 6, 1919	President's speech at Palazzcone.....	do.....	760
Jan. 7, 1919	President's speech at Turin.....	Turin.....	2,135
Jan. 24, 1919	President's speech to War Council.....	Paris.....	234
Jan. 25, 1919	Resolutions of League of Nations.....	do.....	1,936
Jan. 26, 1919	President's speech to French women.....	do.....	809
Feb. 14, 1919	President's speech on covenant of League of Nations.....	do.....	3,765
Feb. 14, 1919	President's explanation of League.....	do.....	2,986
Feb. 24, 1919	President's Boston speech.....	Boston.....	3,162
Mar. 3, 1919	President's address to governors.....	Washington.....	597
Mar. 4, 1919	President's New York speech.....	New York.....	4,175
Mar. 27, 1919	President's statement re League.....	Paris.....	328

Total number of speeches and messages broadcasted..... 54  
 Total number of words broadcasted..... 69,343

## SUMMARY OF ALL SERVICES PREPARED AND SENT BY THE DIVISION.

- ✓ "Regular wireless."—Inaugurated October 1, 1917. Then intended mainly for interception by the French wireless station at Lyon. Contained originally only brief news propaganda articles, total service aggregating 1,000 words. Subsequently intercepted by British wireless stations; then by American operators at American naval base and relayed to an agent of the division in London, who distributed it to the press. Length increased July, 1918, to 2,000 words, of which 500 was "home news" prepared for dissemination to American soldiers and sailors. Again increased in size November, 1918, and a new department, that of editorial comment, added.
- ✓ Total length now, 3,500 words.
- ✓ *Russian informational service.*—Started October 1, 1917, as a daily cabled news summary to "Compub," Petrograd, where distributed by agents of the Committee on Public Information. Average daily length, 300 words. Later sent to Moscow; then wirelessed by cooperation of French Government. Discontinued when committee withdrew its agents from Petrograd and Moscow. (See special Russian service to Archangel.)

*British special service.*—A cabled special service started in July, 1918; later changed to wireless. Carried special articles and news features of special utilization in British newspapers and periodicals. Sent biweekly. Averaged 300 words. Later increased to 700 words.

*Special service for Greece.*—Inaugurated as a cable service, sent fortnightly or weekly to London for relay by Reuter's to Salonica and other Greek points. Later included in London daily special wireless, together with other specialized stories for Holland, Ireland, Spain, etc.

*Special service for Holland.*—Inaugurated as a weekly or occasional service to Holland. First conceived as indirect service by cable to various Dutch newspapers, the special articles being prepared by Mr. Henry Van Loon, of Cornell University. Later superseded by various news of interest to Dutch people sent to London in the special wireless service and by London relayed to the agent of the Committee on Public Information at The Hague.

*Special service for Irish press.*—Consisted of various articles of news interest to Ireland cabled weekly (oftener on occasion) to London, and by London customarily handled to the Irish press through various British agencies. Later incorporated into special wireless service.

*Special service for Archangel.*—Took the place of the cabled service formerly sent to Petrograd and Moscow (see entry under Russian information service). Was sent daily, or as often as desired, to London, being included in the special wireless, and by London relayed to the American consul at Archangel for his propaganda use and for his distribution to American soldiers at that front.

*Special wireless service.*—This was a "localized" section of the regular wireless report. It was wirelessed to London for London's distribution. It included specialized news for England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, Holland, Scandinavia, and Greece, and other nations. Where the news was for London's relay to other countries, London customarily obtained its forwarding to those countries through cooperation of Reuter's, Limited. The special wireless was sent daily and averaged 600 words.

*Special cable service for "The Field."*—The Field, a British periodical of large circulation, was induced through representatives of the committee on duty in London, to arrange for an "American Department." In this department the division furnished a great deal of American publicity matter, including, generally, a special cabled article weekly. Aside from the publicity obtained in this magazine, the editor, Sir Theodore Cook, a great admirer of America and of Americans, took a keen interest in circulation of American news and through large personal acquaintance with British editors and journalists got them frequently to reprint articles appearing in his periodical.

*Special cable service for the National News.*—The National News organization was a British propaganda agency operating throughout the British Isles and particularly in Ireland. Many special news articles were prepared for them and sent to the London offices of the Compub for distribution to them. The National News likewise rendered very valuable cooperation in the printing of pamphlets containing news facts concerning America and America's war efforts.

*Special service to Haiti.*—This was a special cable service circulated gratis through cooperation of the Haiti Cable Co. It consisted of a summary of the day's news, approximating 400 words daily, which was prepared by this office and sent over cables of the Haitian Co. to all their offices. By these offices it was posted in various Central American and Caribbean cities or sold by the cable company's agents to various newspapers, etc. In this way many cities and communities otherwise totally cut off from news of the world received adequate news summaries of the day's happenings and included therein plenty of true news of America.

*Special service to Rome.*—In May, 1918, the Committee on Public Information had established offices in Rome and was anxious to obtain matter prepared by this division for circulation in the Italian press. Cable delays were very irksome, and through cooperation of the Italian Government and the United States Navy Communications Service arrangements were finally effected for installation of adequate receiving equipment for wireless. A special wireless report of news of interest to Italians was inaugurated in the summer of 1918, but was temporarily discontinued, owing to mechanical difficulties in October, resuming in October. The average daily number of words was 500.

*Special service to Mexico.*—Inaugurated April, 1918, when the division obtained a representative in Mexico City. The service was sent by cable and consisted of a world news summary. Practically no attempt was made to insert propaganda matter into this report, since it was designed purely as a press association service for afternoon newspapers, at that time not served by any private agency, and therefore very open to German propaganda "news." Usually a copy of this special cabled service was cabled to the Texas-Mexican border (to American consular representatives, who made effective use of it). This matter averaged 300 words daily.

*Special Scandinavian service.*—Originally inaugurated as a triweekly cabled service, consisting of American news of interest to the Scandinavian countries. Started August, 1918. Later changed so that matter was included in the special wireless.

*Trans-Pacific wireless service.*—Started in December, 1917, being prepared by a special representative in San Francisco

of "Compub." Was matter of particular interest to China, Japan, and the Philippines and Hawaii. Was sent by Navy wireless from San Diego, received at Pearl Harbor (Honolulu) distributed to the press there; relayed from Pearl Harbor to Manila, distributed to the press there; relayed by Manila on. The theory was that the Japanese Government stations would intercept it and distribute to the press, but mechanical difficulties always interfered. Later, through arrangement with the Navy Department, the Navy delivered a copy daily to the cable relay station at Guam, and this matter was thereafter filed from Guam by cable to Tokio (northward) and to Shanghai (southward). At Tokio it was received by the American Embassy and distributed to the press. At Shanghai, an agent of Compub received it and handled through a specially organized press association. He also forwarded the matter to Vladivostok.

*Special Siberian service.*—American troops received news at Vladivostok via trans-Pacific wireless route explained above. In the early part of 1919 Mr. Rogers, with cooperation of the French authorities, inaugurated a special wireless service on American news, sent from Lyons, France, for interception by American wireless stations at Omsk and Vladivostok, Siberia, and such other receiving stations as could decipher it. Total, 500 words daily.

*South American daily special service.*—Inaugurated in August, 1918. Sent by Central and South American Cable Co. on what is known as the "drop copy" plan, viz, copy was taken at all stations between New York and Buenos Aires. Delivered to Compub offices in Buenos Aires, Lima, Santiago, and to American consular and diplomatic offices in all towns touched by the cable. Was a day by day news summary of matters of interest to South and Central Americans. Was received by a Compub agent in Panama, who relayed it to Central American points. Discontinued in January, 1919. Averaged 600 words daily.

*South American wireless service.*—Inaugurated in January, 1919. Averaged 600 words daily, being news of specialized interest to Central and South America. Was sent by wireless and intercepted at Darien (Canal Zone), and Rio de Janeiro (in fragmentary form, according to latest reports). At Darien was turned over to Compub's agent, who

forwarded to Central American points. At Rio de Janeiro was handed to the American Embassy, which distributed it.

*Special service to Lima, Peru.*—A special service continued for one month (October-November) 1918, for specialized use in Peru. Was sent daily by cable, average 400 words, received by Compub's agent at Lima and distributed through his machinery.

*Special service to Spain.*—News of interest to Spain was originally included in the special wireless to London; London relaying special news items as well as stories from the regular wireless which it was deemed might be of interest. Later Paris was made the relaying agent. During the summer of 1918 it was found this was subject to great delays, so for one month a special cabled service was sent from New York, direct to Compub, Madrid, for special use by Compub's agent there.

*Special editorial service.*—(a) General: Included as part of regular wireless report in November, 1918. Averaged 500 words daily. Included extracts from editorials throughout the country on international topics. Mainly for advice of American peace mission.

(b) Special: Embraced hostile editorial comment which from its nature was thought best not to be sent by wireless because the enemy might make use of it, was therefore sent daily by cable, mainly for information of American peace mission. Averaged 400 words daily.

*Special informational service for American mission.*—Sent occasionally when it was believed special currents of public thought might be of value to the American mission. Examples of this special service include: Full textual report of the Lodge-Lowell debate in Boston; special editorial compendium on the League of Nations; special editorial symposium on the editorial as to Russia; editorial comment on the Prinkipo Island conference, etc.

*Daily news summary.*—Inaugurated immediately after American peace mission arrived. Was designed to give these American representatives a bird's-eye view daily of the main news topics as printed in American newspapers; how they regarded happenings of the day, etc. Averaged 1,000 words. Sent by wireless daily. During the time President Wilson was en route to and from Europe was inter-

cepted by wireless aboard his ship and handed to the President for his information.

#### FOREIGN PRESS BUREAU.

At the outset it was seen that wireless and the cables, even used to the utmost, could not meet our foreign needs. It was not enough to give the world the daily news of America's war effort, our military progress, and the official declarations and expositions with respect to our war aims and determinations. There were lies of long standing that had to be met and defeated—lies that attacked America as "dollar mad," that maligned our free institutions, that denied our liberty and our justice. What was needed were short articles descriptive of our development as a Nation and a people; our social and industrial progress, our schools, our laws, our treatment of workers, women and children; a mail service, in fact, that could be taken by our foreign representatives, translated, rewritten if necessary, and pushed into the foreign press to the largest possible extent.

Mr. Ernest Poole, the author, one of the first men to volunteer his whole services to the committee, was given charge of this new undertaking, and, with the assistance of Mr. Paul Kennaday, he gathered about him a volunteer staff of the most brilliant men and women writers ever assembled in one group for a common service.

One feature that would have justified the work had it stood alone was a series of weekly letters by such well-known authors as Owen Wister, Booth Tarkington, Gertrude Atherton, William Shepherd, Edward Hungerford, Ellis Parker Butler, Henry Kitchell Webster, Will Payne, Mary Shipman Andrews, Anne O'Hagan Shinn, Walter Prichard Eaton, and Ernest Poole. Other distinguished writers in constant service were William Dean Howells, Ida Tarbell, Wallace Irwin, Meredith Nicholson, Fannie Hurst, Edna Ferber, Samuel Merwin, and William Allen White.

In describing war aims and national activities, we took material from several hundred daily newspapers and weekly and monthly magazines from all sections of the United States, giving all shades of opinion. Included in these were a large number of trade journals and special magazines cov-

ering the fields of finance, agriculture, labor, education, religion, medicine, etc. We also drew largely from State and Federal Government bulletins and reports, and reports of private organizations.

This part of our service was based on statements of the President, of the Secretary of State and of other Government officials, and the spoken and written comment from newspapers and magazines, also from prominent citizens and organizations throughout the country.

About one-half of our service consisted of news and feature articles, Government bulletins, etc., describing the activities of the Army and Navy—war preparations of all kinds, the recruiting of volunteers, the method and operation of the selective draft, the work in the cantonments, the going of our troops to France, and the many increasing activities there. Also the making of munitions, the building of ships, the vast work of the United States Navy, and the rapidly deepening spirit all over the United States of unity and determination in the prosecution of the war.

In addition we dealt with various fields of activities, such as agriculture and food conservation, industry and finance, labor, education, religion and medicine, in relation to the work of the war and the growth of our democracy. These articles were a means of reaching a wider public abroad—for owing to the lack of paper the foreign newspapers were greatly diminished in size, and although a large amount of our material did succeed in gaining a place in their columns, we felt it urgent to go further, and by sending many special articles and getting them published in the special journals and magazines of each country we gradually widened our circle of readers. Following are brief reports of the work in each of these special fields:

*Food, fuel, and textiles.*—In this field our aim was to emphasize the position of the United States as the greatest source of the world's reserve supplies of food, fuel, and textiles, and to show this country's determination to keep the allied fighting forces and civilian populations provided with the necessities of life. We emphasized throughout the patriotism, self-sacrifice, and good will toward allied nations among the people of the United States as expressed in food and fuel production and conservation.

especially written for us by well-known bankers and economists in this country.

*Labor.*—In this field it was our purpose to describe the warm support of the war by the labor elements in this country. We used largely the reports and statements of Government bodies dealing with labor, as well as those of the American Federation of Labor and various State and municipal bodies belonging to the federation. We ran statements of prominent labor leaders, and published articles describing labor activities in shipyards and other centers where war work was carried on. We gave the workers' and the employers' side, and showed the new relations and mutual understandings between employer and employed, which in many places were built up during the work of the war.

*Religion.*—In this field we showed the churches of all denominations rallying to the support of the war. We made it a special point to answer in Catholic countries abroad the German false allegations that in this country the Catholic church was being persecuted by the Government and was hostile to the war. We ran statements by prominent men both in the Catholic and Protestant churches, and also by leaders of the Jewish religion. We described war activities of the churches, and ran largely extracts from sermons setting forth the ideals and war aims of this Nation.

*Department of medicine.*—In this field we described both in popular and in more technical articles the activities of the medical profession in the war. We used largely the reports and statements from the Surgeon General's Office, also from the Red Cross, and from many non-Government bodies having to do not only with strictly military work, but also with the public health. In these ways we showed various advances in medicine and surgery in this country during the war, and also in the general movement of safeguarding and promoting public health as an essential part of our ever-growing democracy.

*Women's activities.*—In this field we described the countless varied activities of women in support of the war. We also described the changing status of women as a result of the war, laying stress on the success with which they replaced men in industries.

*Special countries.*—Also on the staff, or connected with the division as volunteer helpers from outside, were men with a special knowledge of England, France, Italy, Russia, Holland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Germany, Austria, Serbia, Spain, and Latin American countries. It was their work to write or edit supplementary material of special interest to each country.

Our editor here for Italy could write colloquial Italian and had a good working knowledge of the principal newspapers in Italy. He wrote for such papers special news letters, which were sent by mail or cable, describing activities of Italians in this country, their support of the war, etc.; also editorial opinion here as it concerned our relations with Italy and the part that country played in the war; messages from administration officials here on Italian operations and comment from United States public men on Italian problems and events; also statements by various well-known Italians who visited this country during the war. The various official missions from Italy were in constant touch with this office; we supplemented the official programs arranged by other organizations, bringing the visitors into touch with people they desired to meet, getting publicity for them in various ways, and furnishing them with special material for use after their return to Europe. In this connection we instituted the plan for having a ship christened the *Piave* and for making the event an occasion for the exchange of official and popular expressions of esteem between the Governments of Italy and of the United States.

More or less along these lines special articles were also sent to England, France, and Spain in large numbers, being written or edited either here or by volunteer helpers from outside. Similar work was done for Russia whenever that was possible, meeting Bolshevik and German statements against us by articles describing true conditions in this country, our democracy at home and our purpose in the war, as well as the widespread friendliness here at first toward the Russian revolution and the willingness to support any effort which gave, in our opinion, hope of a real and lasting practical democracy there.

For Austria and Germany articles were obtained from prominent German-Americans here loyal to this country and

making an appeal to the people of Germany and Austria to throw off their old rulers and begin to reestablish themselves in the good opinion of the world. Such articles made it plain that the warfare conducted by the German and Austrian Governments had made these countries hated, not only by native Americans but by those of German birth. In this connection we also ran various articles exposing German methods of propaganda.

For the Scandinavian countries and Holland Mr. Poole's service worked in close cooperation with Mr. Bjorkman. As a result it soon became impossible to pick up a Scandinavian publication of any kind without finding references to America, indicating an eager desire to understand what this country stands for and what it intends to do hereafter.

It was through Sweden, among others, that some of our material directed to the Germans was sent after the signing of the armistice. We received from our representative there the following comment on this material.

The appeal of Dr. Groszmann to his fellow countrymen in Germany was the best piece of propaganda work that has come over from the United States, in my opinion. Why can not we have more of the same kind of stuff? It was translated into Danish by us and distributed to the newspapers. It was very long, but in a week that was crowded with the most important news that has yet taken place; the Dagens Nybeder used it in full on two successive days.

The newspapers and magazines of the various countries were furnished with photographs, cuts, or mats, as their mechanical equipment demanded. In addition about 750 wooden easels were made, each carrying 12 pictures. These easels were distributed by the resident commissioners and the pictures were changed weekly.

The distribution of pamphlets was made by mail or direct delivery. Important utterances of the President and documents prepared in each country with a view to answering local questions were printed locally in numbers running from five to thirty thousand. These were distributed through selected mediums obtained by cooperation with American, British, French, and Italian commercial and government organizations in each country.

The American reading rooms opened by resident commissioners received their supplies from the Foreign Press

Bureau. Lectures made in the different countries by nationals of those countries were also based on material furnished by the bureaus. Data regarding the United States, including standard magazines, books, and periodicals, were furnished to public and private bodies. Schools and public libraries were furnished with American newspapers and periodicals and in some cases particularly desirable books relating to public questions.

The Foreign Press Bureau, in conjunction with the Export Division, devoted itself to the preparation of particular pamphlet and news material for South America. It furnished the headquarters in the different countries with posters from all the branches of the Government devoted to war work and aided the bureaus in forwarding campaigns for war savings stamps, Liberty loan, and Red Cross, and other activities in each of their territories. It arranged for the publication in all magazines in the United States having foreign circulation, for such articles and editorials indicating our attitude toward world questions.

*Pictorial service.*—This service grew up in response to increased demands from our agents in foreign countries. It provided each week photographs, cuts, and mats to illustrate our articles, photographs to the number of 1,500 per week for display upon easels in shop windows, and some 60,000 large news pictorials to be placed in the many thousands of shop windows in foreign countries which were available for our use. To a large extent, space in these windows was secured for the committee's representatives by the cooperation of American exporters through their agents abroad, especially in Latin-American countries. The pictorial service also distributed widely the war posters of this country and millions of picture post-cards showing forth our war activities. The window hangers were sent out in sets of six each week with captions in various languages, such as English, French, Italian, Swedish, Portuguese, Spanish, Danish, Norwegian, and Dutch. Unimprinted display sheets were sent to Russia, China, Japan, Korea, some parts of India, etc. For the Oriental countries a special version was printed, with a wide margin on the right hand side, thus allowing the space necessary for imprinting the languages of the country receiving them. With all unimprinted material either English printed

samples or English captions were inclosed. The output was divided as follows:

Photographs (specially captioned) :

Average weekly shipment----- 1,500

Countries receiving----- 35

Cut and mat service (captions pasted on cuts and mats) :

Average weekly shipment-----

Cuts (coarse screen)----- 179

Cuts (fine screen)----- 54

Mats----- 307

Countries receiving-----

Cuts (coarse screen)----- 16

Cuts (fine screen)----- 11

Mats----- 10

Window display hangers (this covered service both for foreign agents and for export work, 42 per cent was charged to export) :

Weekly shipment (60,000 prints)-----

Subjects per week----- 6

Languages----- 9

Specially unimprinted (for Russia, China, Japan)----- 2

Countries receiving----- 52

The countries receiving photographs, mats, cuts, and window hangers, and the number of such received in each case is shown in the following table:

*Weekly distribution of pictorial material.*

Countries.	Photos.	Cuts.	Mats.	Window display sets of 6.
Africa.....				
Argentina.....	80		30	235
Australasia.....	50			300
Brazil.....	40			277
Canada.....				200
Canary Islands.....				24
Chile.....	50	12	72	5
China, Peking.....	40		12	300
China, Shanghai.....	50	6	100	200
Colombia.....	35			980
Cook Islands.....				158
Costa Rica.....	25	6		4
Cuba.....				15
Denmark.....	50	18		55
Dominican Republic.....				114
England.....	50	3		15
France.....	50	12	6	570
French Indo-China.....	35			476
Greece.....	25			7
Guam.....				4
British Guiana.....				2
Haiti.....				8
Holland.....			12	170
Honduras.....				15
India.....				70
British East Indies.....				4

*Weekly distribution of pictorial material—Continued.*

Countries.	Photos.	Cuts.	Mats.	Window display sets of 6.
British West Indies.....				108
Italy.....	60	12		1,050
Japan.....	40	6		110
Malta.....				6
Mexico.....	90	44	25	1,000
Newfoundland.....				8
New Zealand.....	30			110
Nicaragua.....	25			42
Norway.....	40			78
Panama.....	30	10	20	50
Peru.....	100	30	12	150
Philippines.....	35	15	10	1,730
Porto Rico.....	25			58
Portugal.....	35			24
Russia:				
A.....	30	9		200
V.....	30			300
Salvador.....	20			41
Santo Domingo.....				2
Samoa.....				8
Scotland.....				10
Spain.....	60	23		434
Society Islands.....				4
Sweden.....	45	12	20	110
Switzerland.....	35	3		54
United States <sup>1</sup> .....	20			1,500
Venezuela.....	15			65
Cisneros.....	6			
Uroiti.....	10			
Total.....	1,361	233	307	11,536

<sup>1</sup> For export houses.

*Export service.*—Through various organizations of United States exporters to foreign countries we established a special service beginning with Latin America and finally taking in the entire world. Our articles were printed regularly in several large export journals, together with our photographs. From our articles we also made, in various languages, brief inserts telling of war aims and activities, to be inclosed with business catalogues and also to be sent in tens of thousands of letters sent out weekly from the United States. In addition, window displays were arranged with the pictorial service as mentioned above. By this means 650 of the foreign correspondents of American manufacturers and exporters were used for the display of our illustrated news pictorials. In obtaining distribution means, the confidential lists of all the great sociological, ethical, religious, and commercial interests were used.

Besides the accredited commissioners, the Bureau of Latin American Affairs sent pamphlet and news material, pictures,

cuts, mats, and the pictorial news service to a large number of volunteer distributors throughout Mexico and Central and South America.

Thus the Committee on Public Information was conducting throughout the world a telegraphic, wireless, cable, and mail news service of a most thorough character to practically every newspaper and periodical. It developed every medium possible for the distribution of literature and the display of motion and still photographs and pictorial matter. It became better known in foreign countries as an official information medium of the United States Government than it is known in the United States. Its news was gladly accepted everywhere, and the entire attitude of the press and public toward this organization as the official mouthpiece of the United States Government was most sympathetic and kind.

*Extent of use.*—The press material of the Poole bureau, beginning with a weekly service of about 30,000 words and running as high as 80,000 in English and 20,000 in Spanish, was sent regularly to 17 foreign commissioners of the committee, to 22 diplomatic and consular representatives in countries where there were no committee commissioners, to 10 United States citizens abroad cooperating as agents of the committee, to the British ministry of labor, and to 18 accredited correspondents in this country of foreign newspapers. Close touch was maintained with all these commissioners and agents through letters sent out regularly once a week and through frequent cables. Advised through such correspondence of the openings in each country for articles along various lines, the service to each country became more and more specialized as the work continued. We were thus enabled, also, to serve as a clearing house for methods of publicity that had been tried with success in each country, as the distribution of quantities of small American flags, buttons carrying the flags of the United States and those of our Allies, maps of Europe for window exhibition showing the location of the American forces on the western front, sets of American band music, American newspapers, magazines, and books for the equipment of small reading rooms in connection with our foreign offices.

The extent to which our press material was printed in foreign newspapers and magazines week after week was re-

markable, testifying at once to the new interest of the world in things American and to the ability with which this office was able to meet this demand with newspaper and magazine material prepared by a corps of experienced writers on our staff and by a large number of volunteers who generously and repeatedly responded to our appeals for articles on special subjects.

Reports coming to this office showed that in Spain and in parts of South America up to 90 per cent of our material was actually used.

In Russia, the Philippines, Australia, New Zealand, and China, much less of our press material actually found its way into print. This was due in part to the time required for the delivering of mails to these distant parts and to the irregularity of mail service. But in Australia and New Zealand our material, as it was sent to newspapers had the noticeable effect, it was reported to us, of supplying editors with the basis for favorable editorial comment and for a number of articles on this country's part in the war. The photographs and the window hangers were extensively used in China and Russia. In the Philippines they were distributed weekly from our headquarters in Manila to over 700 towns. Upon request we also sent to China for exhibits in schools 15 complete sets of photographs of 53 of the universities and colleges of the United States.

Europe was, of course, our primary and our most important field and here the committee had, in most of the principal countries, its own offices and the machinery for making the best use of what was sent from this bureau. In England our material was used extensively. We not only secured a large amount of space in the London and other big dailies but our material appeared regularly throughout Scotland and Ireland and in hundreds of the smaller English papers due to arrangements made for syndicating by our representatives and to the splendid cooperation of the British Government. We also furnished numerous special articles each week to class publications.

The illustrated weekly, the *Field*, maintained an American department of from three to four pages a week made up entirely of our press material and photographs furnished by

us, and from these pages the English press copied extensively. One of our articles, Booth Tarkington's "American facts and German propaganda," was carried in the Field, was then copied by other papers, was sent in pamphlet form from our London office to some 50,000 individuals, and was then published and distributed in an edition of 850,000 copies by the British ministry of information. The Tarkington pamphlet was also used in several other connections.

Throughout Spain several hundred windows were put at our disposal by American houses for the exhibition of our photographs and reprints. These exhibitions attracted much attention, the report of our representative on one typical case being that "a big store in Barcelona is filled with propaganda material and it is crowded all day long." The Spanish press carried more and more of our material as the war progressed and as American troops were rushed to the European battle front. Toward the end we received a report, reading:

We are simply loading the Spanish papers with your material, and they are printing such a raft of it that others think we are spending millions in subsidizing—but not a cent have I spent. You are supplying the right kind of ammunition and I am shooting it.

**Switzerland:** Switzerland was an important point, both because of its influence on neutral opinion and because of the leakage into Germany and Austria of Swiss publications. From our representative there we received reports from which the following are taken:

We are highly successful in placing your material \* \* \* We can use practically all you send us \* \* \* Many of these articles have appeared in not one paper but in a hundred or more. Those of which, for instance, have been taken by the Mittel Presse have been printed widely. In addition to this, we found many paragraphs which we have sent out with our daily service. \* \* \* A number of your articles were translated and sent to all the papers, and they have used them in whole or in part. Weekly financial, trade, and agriculture letters are of great value.

**Italy:** From Italy came reports that more than half of our service was being used. Our representative there wrote:

We find practically all of your special service is useful for this purpose. Much of this service can be distributed by the Italian Press Association and so will find space in scores of Italian journals.

To Italy, in addition to our material sent to all countries we sent 10 short articles a week on United States farming and country life for use by the Italian provincial press. All these articles were used regularly.

**Russia** : In the case of Russia we supplemented our material with especially prepared articles on education, municipal government, political organization, child welfare, district nursing, etc. This our agent in Archangel reported was "splendid material for Russian work," and much of it was circulated in bulletins issued in Russian from the committee office there.

*Spirit of the work*.—In concluding this report tribute should be paid to all those who worked in this bureau with Mr. Poole. Many worked as volunteers and others for salaries lower than those they had hitherto received. All showed a devotion to the work, a willingness to stay late, or give up holidays in time of emergency here, and in general a readiness to serve in every possible way, without which the success achieved would have been impossible.

#### FOREIGN FILM ACTIVITIES.

As has been pointed out, the Film Division, under the direction of Mr. Charles S. Hart, supplied not only the United States with a brilliant stream of motion pictures showing the war progress of the United States at home and abroad, but it sent its product also into every country in the world outside the Central Powers. In addition arrangements were made with the exporters of film that gave the Committee on Public Information full control of the foreign distribution of American dramatic and comedy pictures, a plan that permitted us to dominate the film situation in every country. Such houses as refused to show our war pictures could not purchase entertainment film, and in this manner we not only put the committee's own pictures in every house, but ran the German propaganda film out of business.

In the case of the more important countries a film expert, representing Mr. Hart's division, was dispatched as an aid to the resident commissioner, and their reports are briefly submitted herewith as a faint outline of activity:

## ARCHANGEL.

Mr. Harry P. Inman, ordered to Archangel, carried with him the following equipment to take care of the projection and mending of films, and the repairing: One Chronik motion-picture camera, complete; six Delco light plants, with all accessories; six metallic roll screens; 100 T-Monoplane lamps; six motor drives for 6-B cameragraphs, including speed control; six Powers 6-B motion-picture machines, equipped with 3½-inch lenses; three semiportable motion-picture booths.

Mr. Read Lewis, the committee's commissioner at Archangel, had been supplying one motion-picture theater in Archangel and two in a suburb with programs, and in conjunction with the Young Men's Christian Association, was furnishing three reels of features and comedies and two reels of educationals. The money received was divided with the Young Men's Christian Association.

Subsequent shipments were made to Mr. Inman of negative and positive raw stock, also 42 reels of feature dramas, 16 reels of good comedies, 26 reels of news weeklies, and all our official film, including Pershing's Crusaders, America's Answer, Bridge of Ships, Official War Review, etc., and material for approximately 15 complete eight-reel programs.

Among other activities Mr. Inman made arrangements with the educational department of the Russian Cooperative Unions (which is recognized by the present Archangel Government) for films to be released in towns within a 200-mile radius of Archangel. These showings were gratis.

## ARGENTINA.

Mr. E. L. Starr, sent to South America, after concluding a preliminary survey of the field, made arrangements with Max Glucksman to distribute our official pictures. The first distribution covered America's Answer, the diplomatic showing of which was a great success, all Argentine officials being present. During the week following the diplomatic showing the net proceeds to the committee from America's Answer amounted to \$368, for one theater only.

The second distribution was made of the film Bridge of Ships, which had been increased from two to five reels by adding the best and timeliest scenes from the Pershing's Crusaders film. Numerous scenes from Pershing's Crusaders had already been shown in the other allied war reviews, which necessitated our withdrawing and revising the film as explained above. This showing was made at a large benefit of the British-American Benevolent Society.

The financial arrangement with the Glucksman theaters was on a 50-50 basis, but from other exhibitors through the Glucksman agency the committee received a net amount of 25 per cent of the gross earnings. Our official films were received most cordially, and by the above plan secured a maximum amount of distribution.

#### BRAZIL.

Our records indicated that the average percentage of illiteracy in Brazil is 80 per cent, and the utter lack of any organized form of diversion had resulted in the great popularity for the cinema. Conditions in this country disclosed the fact that the motion picture was an unusually effective employment for the dissemination of information and education.

Until the outbreak of the war the market was entirely controlled by the French and Italians. As a result of the committee's work these films have been almost entirely replaced by American films. The distribution in Brazil was through the American Embassy at Rio de Janeiro, under the personal supervision of Mr. E. V. Morgan, the ambassador. All of our official pictures were sent to Mr. Morgan, as well as many industrial subjects, and a wide distribution was secured.

#### CHILE.

The film industry was found to be in the elementary state in Chile as far as distribution and presentation of the pictures are concerned. Tremendous areas are controlled by private corporations which maintain their own motion-picture

theaters. The official films of the committee were turned over to Mr. Sevier, the Compub commissioner. In the larger cities they were shown on a profit-sharing basis in conjunction with various charities. In the American mining towns and camps the films were shown by the American Red Cross under the auspices of the local chapters. At the completion of these showings the Southern Pacific Paramount Co. released these pictures in two or three reel lengths in every city and town and camp having a cinema theater. These arrangements offer a greater money return and a more complete distribution than any other method possibly could.

#### CHINA.

Mr. Wilbur B. Hart, arriving in Shanghai, found that distribution of our official film through established theaters was not feasible inasmuch as less than 2 per cent of the entire attendance was Chinese. Notwithstanding this, Mr. Hart made contracts up to and including February 15 for the distribution of the official films through the existing exchanges.

An official benefit for the war-fund drive was given early in November, after which Pershing's Crusaders was released the early part of December at the Olympic Theater at Shanghai and was later shown at Tientsin and Peking. The other features followed in succession.

During December our films were released for the Red Cross war drive and for some Young Men's Christian Association showings, in the interests of charity and other worthy causes. During January Mr. Hart was authorized to turn over all films and equipment to Minister Reinsch, as the committee contemplated no more shipments of official films.

#### HARBIN AND VLADIVOSTOK.

Our work in Russia was facilitated by the hearty cooperation received from the Tokyo embassy, and all American enterprises such as the Red Cross, the Young Men's Christian Association, and the military and naval associations.

During the early summer of 1918 shipments went forward to Russia of approximately 68 reels of news pictures and 59 reels of industrial film.

In July, 1918, American motion pictures were shown in Harbin for the aid of the Red Cross. These programs were thereafter sent out on the Manchurian circuit, as far as the Russian border to the west, and later to the eastern points, and were also put at the disposal of the Young Men's Christian Association for showing at the various clubs.

Subsequently, arrangements were effected during August, 1918, to supply Russia with full eight-reel programs, and shipments were made to Harbin of feature dramas, comedies, educational, and industrial films comprising more than 30 programs. On all this commercial film we obtained from the producers the exclusive rights in these territories for the period of the war.

We likewise made shipments of all our following official pictures, Commissioner Bullard detailing Mr. Charles Philip Norton to superintend distribution.

The Russian exhibitors had a great desire for comedies, which proved a means of introducing effectively the heavier and official films in the program.

Under orders of Commissioner Arthur Bullard motion picture headquarters were moved from Harbin to Vladivostok, the center of east Siberian motion-picture trade. Mr. Bullard sent Mr. H. Y. Barnes to New York with a strong recommendation that complete equipment for an efficient laboratory be immediately purchased and sent to Vladivostok. This plan was approved, and accordingly two carloads of equipment were shipped to Vladivostok comprising the following material: Six 6-B cameragraphs; 6 deleo light plants; monoplane lamps, rewinders, motors, etc.; 2 motion-picture film-printing machines; 6 motion-picture rheostats; 6 screens.

This laboratory gave full titling facilities for all subjects sent, and was immediately followed by a large shipment of industrial subjects, educational, agricultural, and mining films.

In the meantime our New York office communicated with a great many industrial concerns in the United States, ask-

ing them to donate their industrial films for distribution through our laboratory at Vladivostok, Russia. The majority of them consented very gladly.

#### HOLLAND.

For exploitation in Holland we secured approximately 370,000 feet of commercial film from all the leading film producers, who granted us the exclusive rights to use these pictures in Holland during the period of the war. This enabled us to make up 50 eight-reel programs.

In addition to this commercial film we shipped our full set of official releases.

Mr. Llewellyn R. Thomas, representing the Film Division, upon arrival at The Hague, cabled requesting more raw stock and advising that the Germans were furnishing laboratories and exchanges with raw stock, thereby endeavoring to control their distribution. We also received a cable requesting short subjects, such as one or two reel comedies and short scenic subjects. Mr. Thomas further advised that he could use 1,000 assorted carbons, due to the great scarcity of carbons other than those of German make. In response to his cable we subsequently shipped 200,000 feet more of raw positive stock.

Our shipments to Holland have comprised 306,000 feet of dramatics, 52,000 feet of comedies, 12,000 feet educational, and more than 30,000 feet of official releases, also 92 reels of news pictures.

Early in November our official film, America's Answer, was displayed to all the Dutch military and naval officers in The Hague. It received a tremendous ovation and was afterwards released every day throughout the territory.

#### MEXICO.

Our film activities in Mexico were handled personally by Commissioner Robert H. Murray, who covers operations in his report. He received our official pictures, 10,000 feet of raw stock, and also large shipments of commercial film.

## PERU.

The motion picture theaters were found to be crude and unsatisfactory. The greater portion of the Peru population is Indian and entirely illiterate. Railroads reach some of the more important mining and agricultural sections, but a vast amount of this territory is reached by burro through mountain trails.

The distribution of motion pictures for Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador made through Lima, Peru, is based on an elaborate system worked out by an organization there. Mr. C. N. Griffis, commissioner of the committee, and one of the best informed men regarding this country as a field for motion pictures, was the editor of the only English weekly on the west coast and is head of the American Society. Mr. Handley is the American consul general at Lima. Mr. Griffis, with the assistance of Mr. Handley, took charge of our official films.

Arrangements were consummated for the showing of the films in Peru through the Peru chapter of the American Red Cross, which will show these pictures in each of the cities and towns having a Red Cross branch. The net profits will be divided with the committee. After the Red Cross has played these towns, the films will be turned over to the only important distributing corporation in the country, the Impreso de Teatros y Cinemas Limitada. The latter has agreed to play the films in every city and town having a cinema theater (26 towns and cities with a total of 34 theaters). This gives us over a period of time 100 per cent distribution and as large an income as can possibly be secured.

Bolivia has five towns in which we consummated the same arrangement as in Peru.

Ecuador likewise has eight towns in which the same arrangement for distribution was effected.

## SWITZERLAND.

On July 1, 1918, the Swiss film problem was delegated to an allied committee, whose purpose it was to control all allied film in this territory. All film contracts drawn up by

the Swiss exhibitors were made under the supervision of this committee, one of the stipulations being that a certain percentage of allied propaganda should be shown by the exhibitors. The Committee on Public Information guaranteed the exclusive rights in Switzerland on all American dramatic films. Twelve of the leading film exporters in New York supplied us with 64 prints of dramatic features, comedies, and educationals. In addition to this commercial film we made shipments of 5 prints, or 33 reels, of our official film. This made a total of 228 reels shipped. We also forwarded 15,000 feet of raw stock. Film shipments were stopped with the signing of the armistice.

During December, Mr. Charles Hart, who made a careful study of the Switzerland conditions, cabled advising that one of the most reliable film companies in Switzerland desired to acquire all of our commercial film. We accordingly drew up a new standard contract for a five-year lease with the purchaser, Louis Ador, son of the President of Switzerland, and the sale was made of all our commercial film. Financial arrangements of this sale were such that we were able to satisfy the producers. This transaction closed the film activities of the committee in this territory, and gave promise of considerable exploitation of American film in Switzerland, through Mr. Ador's agency.

#### FOREIGN PICTURE SERVICE.

As has been explained, there was not only need in foreign countries of American war films and "entertainment pictures," supplied by the Division of Films, but we needed also pictures showing the social and industrial progress of America, the life of the country, its achievements, etc. Mr. Jules Brulatour, one of the leaders of the motion-picture industry, volunteered for the work, assisted by Lieut. John Tuerk, and under his able supervision Government departments, manufacturers, educational institutions, States, and cities, were induced to contribute film. Every known subject was gathered from traction plowing to a steel plant, from lumbering in Oregon to an East Side school, from making an

automobile to coal mining. The shipments of Mr. Brulatour and Lieut. Tuerk were:

Country.	Reels.	Footage (approximate).
Argentina, Buenos Aires.....	67½	67,500
Azores Islands.....	24	24,000
Brazil, Rio de Janeiro.....	139	139,000
Chile, Santiago.....	112½	112,500
China, Shanghai.....	138	138,000
Cuba, Habana.....	24	24,000
Denmark, Copenhagen.....	112	112,000
Egypt, Cairo.....	15	15,000
England, London.....	40	40,000
France, Paris.....	218	218,000
Greece, Athens.....	92	92,000
Holland, The Hague.....	647	647,000
India, Calcutta.....	11	11,000
Ireland, Dublin.....	42	42,000
Italy, Rome.....	420	420,000
Japan, Tokyo.....	144	144,000
Mexico, Mexico City.....	863	863,000
Norway, Christiania.....	322	322,000
Peru, Lima.....	43½	43,500
Philippine Islands.....	39	39,000
Russia:		
Archangel.....	139	139,000
Harbin.....	554	554,000
Vladivostok.....	598	598,000
Siberia.....	195	195,000
Switzerland, Berne.....	352	352,000
Spain, Madrid.....	492	492,000
Sweden, Stockholm.....	357	357,000
Total.....	6,200½	6,200,500

The division made shipments of positive and negative raw stock as follows:

Country.	Footage.	
	Positive.	Negative.
Brazil, Rio de Janeiro.....	12,915	.....
Chile, Santiago.....	10,000	.....
China, Shanghai.....	24,000	10,056
Denmark, Copenhagen.....	24,915	.....
France, Paris.....	652,960	131,128
Holland, The Hague.....	299,982	.....
Mexico, Mexico City.....	20,000	5,000
Peru, Lima.....	600	400
Russia:		
Archangel.....	64,996	19,967
Harbin.....	16,545	.....
Vladivostok.....	100,000	40,000
Sweden, Stockholm.....	59,500	.....
Switzerland, Berne.....	8,000	.....
Total.....	1,294,413	206,551

This division acted as the shipper for the Foreign Film Bureau, and we have accordingly included in the above footages all film consigned by them for shipment to their foreign film commissioners.

It supplied the Young Men's Christian Association with 521 reels (521,000 feet) for use in Russia, 150 reels (150,000 feet) for use in Italy, and 51 reels (51,000 feet) for use in France.

It shipped projection machines, accessories, complete equipment, etc., to the following countries:

China, Shanghai	1
Mexico, Mexico City	2
Russia	16

Its shipments to Italy include:

Italian post cards, showing American scenes	1,081,010
Italian post cards, showing Czecho-Slovak scenes	925,574

#### REPORTS FROM FOREIGN COMMISSIONERS.

It is regrettable that space can not be taken to give the report of every commissioner in full, but it is felt that the complete presentation of a few, as examples, will make sufficiently clear the nature of the committee's activities, the problems encountered, and the achievements.

#### REPORT ON THE WORK IN MEXICO.

[By ROBERT H. MURRAY, Commissioner.]

By order of George Creel, chairman of the Committee on Public Information, the Mexico Section of the Committee on Public Information was created on March 1, 1918, continuing until February 15, 1919.

With the exception of a few sparsely settled and remote points, operations extended throughout the entire Republic. Representatives of the committee were stationed in every city and important town in the country. When the armistice—the date upon which the work of the section was at flood tide—was signed on November 11, 1918, the Mexico Section had 222 individual correspondents, who covered 165 points.

For purposes of this report the operations of the Mexico Section may be divided broadly under the following heads:

General.	Motion pictures.
Organization.	Still pictures.
Newspapers.	School and reading room.
Literature.	Miscellaneous.

## GENERAL.

In the beginning, elements confronted the Mexico Section which rendered its task peculiarly difficult and, to a certain extent, unique. With the possible exception of Spain, in no other country outside of Mexico did the German propaganda attain such vigor and proportion, and nowhere was it waged with more determination and vicious mendacity. Events and conditions which it is unnecessary to recapitulate had caused the people and the Government of Mexico to become highly responsive to overt or covert propaganda directed against the United States and in favor of Germany. The people, especially the masses, reacted favorably almost to a unit to the specious and insidious endeavors of the Germans to deceive them into believing that the triumph of the arms of the United States spelled menace and disaster to Mexico, and that a German victory would insure for them and their country every manner of political and economic benefit.

Thus the German propaganda thrived upon fruitful soil. It appealed to a ready-made, receptively sympathetic audience. Nevertheless, as the writer prophesied early in February, 1918, in a résumé of the Mexican situation which he furnished to Chairman Creel, the German propaganda up to that time had not been successful in creating anything substantial or lasting commensurate with the effort and money expended. Nor did it later. This was proved when, as a result of the defeat of the German military power, the German propaganda in Mexico collapsed almost overnight, leaving nothing save a faint and rapidly disappearing impression upon the Mexican public to show for the expenditure of more than four years' time and intensive effort and at least 10,000,000 marks in German money. The German propaganda failed in Mexico, as elsewhere, because, as a writer in the *Journal of the American Chamber of Mexico* expressed it in the November number of that publication:

It is, and always has been, a propaganda of lies. Because it deals exclusively in lies. Because it is composed of lies. Because it is organized and managed by arch liars who work with intent to lie and to deceive. But the German propaganda has failed principally because, in the long run, truth will beat lies every time.

Whatever success the Mexico Section attained may be attributed, in the main, to the fact that it dealt from the beginning to the end exclusively in truth. Its sole mission in Mexico was to tell the Mexicans the truth, not only about the United States, why it went to war, what it was doing in the war, and what the real attitude of the people and of the Government of the United States was toward Mexico, but also what German militarism actually stood for, what the conduct of German statesmen, soldiers, and sailors had been in the war, and what were the sinister aims of the Kaiser and his accomplices toward democracy and free Governments of free peoples.

The fight to win Mexico, or at least to obtain for the common cause an adequate hearing before the Mexican people, was essentially our fight. And this quite regardless of whatever interest any other nation embattled against the Germans might have held in the way of impressing their cause and their point of view upon the Mexicans. That the Mexican fight was our fight became apparent from the fact that it was only from the day we declared war that the German propaganda in Mexico really began to flourish. The Germans were cunning enough immediately thereafter to play upon the anti-American string. That was their best asset in Mexico, and they omitted no effort or expense to capitalize and profit by it.

This had been going on for almost a year when the Mexico Section was created. The Germans had organized well. For the most part their propaganda was financed by loans made to the German minister in Mexico by wealthy German commercial houses and individuals. These provided the minister with unlimited funds in Mexican currency with which to corrupt public sentiment in Mexico, and which they loaned upon drafts upon the German Government. In passing it may be said that none of these drafts have yet been paid. No source of revenue of this nature was available to the Mexico Section. The only financial support, with one exception, which this office received from American nationals was indirect. It came through newspaper advertising from American business houses, which was provided for the support and encouragement of legitimate newspapers, who championed the cause of the United States and of the Allies. This move-

ment, although it was originated before the Mexico Section came into being, was latterly revived and placed upon a more effective basis through the influence of this office, with the assistance of various members of the American Chamber of Commerce of Mexico, notably William L. Vail, Esq., who volunteered to take charge of the work. This office and its work are indebted to Mr. Vail for his patriotic activities.

Details of the operation of the propaganda of the enemy are not germane here. They did not differ materially from those employed in every neutral country. The basis of their work was conventional, practical, and sound. Upon that, however, they had reared a structure of falsification, misrepresentation, and chicanery. It was upheld, on the part of those among the Mexicans whom they drew to their support not because of conscientious conviction by the supporters of the justice of the cause which they were espousing, but solely for that they were paid for what they did with copious moneys dealt out by the German information service. Authenticated documents from the records of the German information service which are in possession of this office show that the Germans were paying subsidies aggregating nearly \$25,000 United States currency monthly to 23 newspapers and periodicals, besides supplying them with free paper and an alleged "cable" service made in Mexico. At a conservative estimate the press activities alone of the Germans in subsidies, paper, telegraph service and tolls must have cost them not far from \$50,000 United States currency monthly.

It is a significant fact, and one which redounds to the credit of the reputable, honorable journalists of Mexico, that during the war there was not a single newspaper or periodical in the Republic which pleaded the German cause that was self-sustaining. All were subsidized with German gold. On the other hand, there was not one pro-American ally newspaper or periodical which was not self-sustaining. The Mexico section, directly or indirectly, did not subsidize any publication.

When the work of this office began the Germans had the field virtually to themselves. With rare exceptions the newspapers which were not avowedly pro-German gave the cause of the United States and of the allies languid and indifferent support. Largely, the fault for this condition was ours. Un-

til we started our work no organized, adequate, authoritative channels for obtaining information regarding the purposes and the acts of the United States at war were available to newspapers or individuals who were inclined to be friendly. The reverse was impressively, emphatically, and, to us, reproachfully true, so far as the Germans were concerned.

But this initial handicap was speedily overcome. From the outset it was assumed that the Mexican press and public, or at least that portion of it which was not debauched by German money and German lies, was fair and receptive. This was almost instantaneously proved. We worked always in the open. Official notice was served upon the Mexican Government of the establishment of the offices of the committee in the City of Mexico and of the purpose of the committee in extending its operations into Mexico. We hid nothing from public view. There was nothing to hide. Incidentally this principle was laid down and maintained to the point that the director felt free to declare, and still does declare, that there is not a document, record, payment, or act of the Mexico Section which is not open to the full and unrestricted scrutiny of any person in or out of Mexico.

From the beginning this office stressed the fact, and gave it the widest proper publicity, that the Mexico Section spoke and functioned officially for the Government of the United States, and that the Government of the United States stood back of every statement contained in every cable report or piece of literature issued by us. Our challenge of responsibility for word and deed, both on behalf of our Government and of this office, was not once questioned or accepted by those who opposed us.

It is a source of deep satisfaction to be able to report that regardless of the obviously difficult field in which we were forced to operate and the manifold opportunities which presented themselves for complications which, had they developed, would inevitably have bred embarrassments both for the committee and for our Government, the Mexico Section was fortunate enough to conclude its labors without friction with any of the Federal, State, or local authorities of the Republic. One can not escape the conclusion that this was due largely to the truthful, conservative, responsible, open-and-above-board policies adopted. These policies, while

rigidly adhered to, did not in the least lessen their aggressiveness, energy, and success of the work. Fundamentally, we did all that the Germans did, and more. But we did it differently and decently.

Our sole mission was to inform the people of Mexico. It has been said that we did this adequately. All things considered—the remoteness of many of the populous parts of the Republic from our headquarters in the City of Mexico, the regrettable delay in commencing our work, the vast numerical preponderance of the illiterate over the literate among the population of Mexico, their latent antagonism to, and suspicion of, the United States, and the modest sum available for the purposes of the committee in Mexico—one feels that inspection of the record of the Mexico Section may safely be invited from any critics, friendly or unfriendly.

The director was fortunate in being able to surround himself with a corps of assistants—Americans for the greater part, but including Mexicans, British, Russian, and French—who gave him efficient, loyal, and patriotic support. He owes much to them, and he takes pleasure in acknowledging that obligation with deep thanks. The always constructive, appreciated, and helpful interest and cooperation of the American ambassador, Henry Prather Fletcher, Esq., contributed immeasurably to the success of the work of the committee in Mexico. Enthusiastic and invaluable aid was also rendered, almost without exception, by the members of the consul corps of the United States in Mexico. Equally important service was given by volunteer correspondents in all parts of the Republic, who included not only Americans, but Mexican citizens and nationals of substantially every country on earth which either militantly or sentimentally was aligned on the side of justice and democracy against despotism and ruthless force.

Two dominant facts stand out clearly as a result of the experience of the director in the past 11 months. One is that much was accomplished in acquainting the people of Mexico with the power, the resources in national crises, the righteously militant spirit, the ideals, the underlying altruism of their neighbors to the north. The obvious reply to this, of course, is that, considering the close geographical, commercial, and political ties of the two countries, the Mexican

people should have known all this before. Which is quite true. But they didn't. It had never been the business of anyone to enlighten them systematically, purposefully, and truthfully. The other fact is that much of permanent benefit to the United States and Mexico could and should be built upon the foundation laid by the Committee on Public Information. The United States never more than at present needed interpretation to the people of Mexico. Never were Mexicans in a more inquiring and receptive mood.

Ground has been prepared which we should not, in justice to ourselves and our responsibilities in Mexico, leave untilled.

Two expressions of judgment upon the work of the Mexico Section may properly be included in this report. The first is in the form of a resolution adopted by the American Chamber of Commerce in Mexico, as follows:

*Resolved*, That this chamber commends in the highest terms the work accomplished by the Committee on Public Information in Mexico under the direction of Mr. Robert H. Murray, it being its judgment that a decided change for better in the attitude of the Mexican people has been brought about through its efficient work.

*Resolved*, That copies of the resolution be sent to the American ambassador, American consul general in Mexico, Mr. George Creel, chairman of the Committee on Public Information in Washington, and to Mr. Robert H. Murray, director of the Mexican section.

The second is an editorial published in *La Prensa*, a daily newspaper printed in the city of Puebla, on December 24, 1918.

#### WORK OF THE FOREIGN INFORMATION AGENCIES DURING THE EUROPEAN WAR.

Varied and contradictory were the notices which during the terrible European war were circulated by the foreign information agencies established in the capital of the Republic, news emanating from the battlefields according to the events occurring and sent to Mexico from the very countries at war. The effect of all this on the various parties is past history, each group wishing success for the side they sympathized with. The time is also past of uneasy expectation on the part of neutral nations, who anxiously followed the march of events as given out by the respective agencies and who, while regretting the bloodshed and destruction of war, thought as they still do, uneasily about the future of the world in respect to commercial relations and that state of peace which was to form a league of nations.

Now that the great struggle has been solved by an armistice which will lead to the basis of a lasting peace; now with the disappearance

of the powerful empire of the autocratic and warlike German Kaiser, who carried destruction and extermination into France and Belgium, and that the European nations breathe freely again; and now, also, that we can appreciate present events, as deductions from the past great battles, we see clearly that the reports of some foreign agencies were not true as to the course of events in the theaters of war, since we remember that for many days after the German failure and the abdication of a conquered William II, the pro-German papers and agencies continued to deny these events for a purpose the ultimate end of which would be ridicule, as actually happened in the case of these agencies.

We must confess, however, because facts have so proved this, that the agency in the capital of the Committee on Public Information of the United States Government in charge of Mr. Robert H. Murray, never diverged from the truth and never tried to alter the telegrams which it received, whether they were favorable or adverse to the nation to which it belonged. Its reports were an exact statement and a truthful one of events, and its straightforward conduct must be valued for its true worth, if we remember those days of anxiety, of expectation and of worry as to the results of the world struggle which had no equal in the centuries.

We have always relied upon the reports issued by Mr. Murray's agency; we always received them with pleasure and entire confidence and in repeating them to the public as received we invariably did so with the conviction of truth bearers as to the terrible events happening overseas in which all Europe was involved.

#### ORGANIZATION.

The organization of the Mexico Section was arranged by subdivisions, according to the nature of the work. To the director fell the general executive functions. Next in authority came the office manager, Mr. Arthur de Lima, followed by the managers of the Editorial Department, Motion Picture Department, the Still Picture Department, the Reading Room and School, and the Mailing Department. Each department had the necessary corps of translators, editors, teachers, clerks, stenographers, messengers, and office boys. At no time did the entire force of the executive office exceed 40 persons. Salaries ranged downward from 100 pesos (substantially \$50 United States currency), which was the highest paid. Our salaries as a rule were lower than paid for similar service by commercial houses. Preference in employment, so far as possible, was given to American citizens.

## NEWSPAPERS.

The supplying of newspapers with cable news, special articles, cuts, matrices, etc., was handled by the Editorial Department. The expenses and labor of this department were increased by the necessity of translating all matter into Spanish. Nothing in English was sent out for use in Mexico.

Thanks to the cooperation of Compub in New York, an excellent and carefully selected general war news service which ran as high as 1,000 words daily, according to the importance and interest of the occurrences at home and abroad, was received in the City of Mexico by cable, via Galveston. Translators reduced the cables to Spanish. Copies were transmitted by messenger or land telegraph-wires to 31 newspapers, 9 in the capital and 22 in the interior. In many instances the newspapers gave the committee's cable service preference in display to despatches of their own special correspondents, or those of regular news agencies. At frequent intervals the newspapers in the capital issued extra afternoon editions on the war news furnished them by the committee.

Implicit confidence was placed upon the authenticity of our news—so much so, in fact, that several newspapers which had been printing the alleged news despatches of the German information service abandoned them and instead used those of the committee.

It was notorious that the German news service was fabricated in Mexico and that the Germans did not receive a word of cable news from without the Republic. German agents stationed at border points, notably Nuevo Laredo and Juarez, rewrote cable news clipped from the United States newspapers and stolen from news bureaus' and special correspondents' dispatches sent to Mexican newspapers, distorted them to suit the purposes of the Germans, and distributed them to their dupes and subsidized newspapers as "special" cable or "wireless" messages.

Approximately 4,433,000 words of our daily cable service were distributed to the Mexican newspapers during the 11 months of the existence of the Mexico section. Mimeographed copies of the daily dispatches were prepared and a total of 35,000 of them were distributed in the City of Mexico among business firms, which displayed them in show win-

dows, to the foreign legations, Mexican Government officials, and individuals.

Spanish translation of special articles prepared by the Foreign Press Bureau of the committee in New York, and made suitable by careful editing and revision for the Mexican field and the limited space of the newspapers were sent daily to the 65 newspapers and periodicals on our list. The record shows that nearly 60 per cent of this material was used. On an average of 300 articles monthly, or 3,300 in all, were distributed. The supply was not equal to the demand, the same being true of cuts and matrices. Of the latter more than 2,000 were used.

To the newspapers also supplementary daily news letters (virtually a complete telegraphic service) were mailed, the total being 178,000. For the benefit of persons outside of Mexico who were interested in Mexican affairs it was deemed expedient, and within the functions of the committee, to issue a weekly news bulletin in English. In this bulletin appeared only matter relating to official Mexican Government activities and topics connected with reconstruction, industry, development, etc. This was sent by mail to 1,000 individuals and firms in the United States. Eighteen editions were published with a total circulation of 20,000. The bulletin met with appreciative reception and comment from hundreds of persons among those who received them, including Members of the United States Congress, the Librarian of Congress, and other officials of our Government and corporations and individuals having investment interests in Mexico. Requests for this bulletin were received in almost every mail and from parts as distant as England, Canada, and Japan. Franking privileges were granted by the Mexican Government for both the news letter and the English bulletin.

Several months before the war closed it was found advisable to issue a weekly publication devoted exclusively to the interests and war activities of our Government. This bore the title "America in the War." It consisted of 16 illustrated pages, well edited and attractively arranged and printed. Its success was instantaneous and it developed into one of the most effective elements of our educational campaign. Especially was it valuable in inspiring and maintain-

ing interest and enthusiasm among our correspondents, and bringing them more intimately in touch with this office. Of "America in the War" more than 100,000 were circulated in weekly editions of from 4,000 to 5,000 copies. We also bought and distributed not far from 500,000 copies of various publications containing special articles in support of the cause of the United States, or throwing light upon the friendly attitude of the United States toward the Mexican people and Government.

The end of the war apparently brought no cessation in the demand for the news and other material which it had been supplying. Until the office closed, and after, requests for articles, pamphlets, etc., were daily received, to which, it is to be regretted, we were unable to accede.

Mr. George F. Weeks was manager of the Editorial Department.

#### MOTION PICTURES.

It goes almost without saying that among a population in which illiterates unfortunately predominate, motion pictures possess an enormous influence as a medium for conveying impressions and creating sentiment where the printed word is without value. In Mexico the motion-picture films proved to be one of our greatest assets. The pictures "got over" and won converts to our cause where other mediums would inevitably have failed. Our motion-picture campaign was successful. But at first it was up-hill work. German agents saw to it diligently in the beginning that displays of war pictures of American soldiers, in the camp or in the field, of our preparations in every branch of our mobilizations of the industrial, military, naval, and social forces which the Government brought to bear in the conflict, met with an uproariously hostile reception from the audiences to which they were shown. Frequently the police were summoned to restore order. Complaints to the authorities were made by our opponents that our pictures were inciting riots, and that the screening of portraits of the President, Gen. Pershing, and other notable personages, and of the American flag floating at the forefront of marching troops or at the masthead of naval units constituted an insult to the Mexican Government and people and were in violation of Mexico's neutrality. On

various occasions our displays were halted until the local authorities could be convinced by tactful explanations, and by private exhibitions given for their benefit, that the pictures might properly be allowed on view.

Gradually the demonstrations in the cines lessened, and finally ceased. The pictures won their way. The attitude of the public altered until after a few months we were repaid for our persistence by reports from our agents, telling of cheering and applause in place of hoots and yells, and even of "vivas" being given for the flag, the President, American war vessels, and American soldiers.

American industrial films, with which we were freely supplied, aroused a disappointing volume of interest. The public appetite would be satisfied with nothing less tame than actual war pictures or commercial films telling stories to Germany's discredit. Measurably successful exhibitions of the industrial films were given in the open air, in schools, and before selected audiences.

On the circuit organized by the Motion Picture Department our films were shown in 68 houses throughout the Republic, and to audiences which, according to our carefully kept reports, aggregated 4,500,000 persons.

Dr. M. L. Espinosa was manager of the Motion Picture Department.

#### STILL PICTURES.

Effective work was made of the still pictures sent us from Washington. Boards were provided which had space for 12 pictures, each with an explanatory caption in Spanish. The boards were attractively made and painted and bore in Spanish "The Committee on Public Information, Mexico Section," in addition to printed cards, which were frequently changed, with educational references to what the United States was doing in the war. These pictures were changed weekly. The boards were exhibited in shop windows and other conspicuous places. They amply supplemented the appeal of the motion pictures, and, probably to the same extent as the latter, impressed through the medium of the eye the might and resources which the United States arrayed against German military despotism. Altogether there were displayed in this manner 116,256 separate still pictures.

Mr. L. Kuhn was manager of the Still Picture Department.

## SCHOOL AND READING ROOM.

Two experiments which were approached with a degree of caution and doubt—our Reading Room and School in the City of Mexico—proved to be among the most successful and effective branches of the work. The Reading Room was designed as a popular center for general dissemination of information. It became all of that and more. Quarters were obtained in a large shop at Gante, 10, one of the most frequented thoroughfares in the business heart of the capital. Appropriate equipment of tables, chairs, etc., was provided. With flags, bunting, pictures of American and allied notables, posters, etc., the room was attractively decorated. Files were kept of the Mexican newspapers and periodicals and also of the principal American newspapers and illustrated magazines.

An abundant supply of Spanish printed literature, including all of the publications of the committee, was available, both for reading and on the premises and for distribution.

Our daily cable news was displayed on bulletin boards, inside and outside of the Reading Room. Free toilet conveniences, a dressing room for women, telephone, and writing paper were included in the equipment. From the beginning the Reading Room was patronized to capacity day and evening. The visitors came from all ranks of citizens, artisans, laborers, shopkeepers, professional men, women, flocking there for enlightenment as to the issues and progress of the war, and to exchange views on the situation. Spirited discussions took place. Several times weekly lectures or talks upon the war, the United States, Mexican affairs, and kindred topics were given. Occasionally the discussions were illustrated by motion pictures. During the  $7\frac{1}{2}$  months in which the Reading Room was open the number of visitors, by actual count, totaled 106,868.

Encouraged by the reception given the Reading Room, it was determined to take advantage of the widespread demand, indicated frequently among the visitors, to open a school for instruction in English. A shop adjoining the Reading Room was rented, and furnished with desks, benches, and blackboards. The esthetic element was not neglected, and flag,

bunting, and pictorial adornments rendered the room attractive and inviting.

From the initial session the capacity of the school was taxed. English was the most eagerly sought for study, but French, bookkeeping, and stenography classes were well patronized. A corps of teachers, volunteers or paid, labored diligently, intelligently, and successfully. Instruction was free and many pupils were drawn from institutions where tuition fees were charged because, as they said, more practical and effective teaching was given in the committee's school than in the others. The zest of the pupils to acquire English was amazing. Their curiosity regarding the Government of the United States, its history, art, literature, and the customs of our people was evinced to a degree which the management, owing to the limitations imposed upon it, found difficult to satisfy.

In age the students ranged from boys and girls of 16 to elderly men and women. The working classes predominated. With few exceptions those who entered studied hard and persistently. Uninterested pupils were weeded out, and their places given to the more ambitious and serious applicants. When the school closed 1,127 individual pupils were registered. The total school-day attendance was nearly 30,000. Sixteen English classes were in operation with an average of 96 pupils, eight classes in stenography with an average of 65 pupils, two French classes with an average of 103 pupils, and four special English and two special classes with an average of 12 pupils.

No one who watched the operation of the school and appreciated by observation the zest of the students to learn English and the sympathetic mental trend toward the United States inspired among them in the process could fail to regret that the classes might not have been continued permanently, and that some arrangement might not be made for extending on a larger scale throughout Mexico what the committee accomplished in an experimental way in the capital.

Through the efforts of the section six reading rooms were established and successfully conducted outside of the capital, in Guadalajara, Vera Cruz, Aguascalientes, Leon, Durango, and Irapuato.

Mr. J. B. Frisbie was manager of the Reading Room and School.

LITERATURE.

In this department the chief difficulty encountered was not to find channels and outlets for carrying the word to the people, but to obtain enough material with which to satisfy their demands. We distributed a total of 985,000 pieces of literature of all descriptions—pamphlets, posters, folders, postcards, not counting between 50,000 and 75,000 Liberty loan and other war posters and half-tone window hangers, consigned to us from Washington and New York. Not less than 75 per cent of our correspondents filed repeat orders for substantially every shipment of literature sent them. It was impossible to meet all of these requisitions. Double the amount of literature could have been circulated had it been available. Travelers constantly brought us word of having seen in remote places copies of the more popular of the pamphlets, President Wilson's Fourteen Points, his address to the Mexican editors who visited him at the White House, his war speeches to the Congress, a condensation of Brand Whitlock's story of Belgium, the circumstantial accounts of the German atrocities, and Prince Lichnowsky's pillorying of his Government for precipitating the war, which had been passed from hand to hand and read and reread until the pages were in tatters.

In general, the literature was circulated in two ways—by the correspondents in their respective districts and by mail directly from headquarters. A mailing list was prepared which contained nearly 20,000 names of professional men, Government officials, school-teachers, merchants, clergymen, labor leaders, farmers, and others in the middle and higher walks of life. Many hundreds of letters were received from the persons who received literature expressing their thanks, asking for more, and not seldom inclosing the names of friends to whom they wished pamphlets mailed. So far as possible, pamphlets were prepared which contained matter calculated to appeal especially to sundry classes, such as workingmen, the clergy, educators, etc. Whenever the text permitted, they were embellished with illustrations.

Posters were effective, and we used them freely. Care was taken to phrase them tersely and simply.

No literature was issued anonymously. We officially stood sponsor for everything. Each piece of printed matter bore the imprint of the committee and the slogan of the office: "The War: Remember, The United States *Cannot Lose!*" Constant and indefatigable reiteration of this phrase eventually elevated it to the dignity of an impressive and confident prophecy. It was effective—so much so that for a time it enjoyed ephemeral life as a popular catchword in the streets and on the stage of the capital. In their heyday the Germans made it the subject of sarcastic jest.

#### MISCELLANEOUS.

*Mexican Editors.*—At the suggestion of the director, in June, 1918, a party of 20 representative editors and journalists of México visited the United States as guests of the committee. The importance of this enterprise, in the way of getting before the reading public of the country information concerning the part which was being taken by the United States in the war, the American spirit, our wealth and power, the vastness of our domain, and its potentialities, and the real attitude of the people and the Government toward Mexico, through the medium of skilled observers equipped with first-hand knowledge, can not be overestimated. The chairman, Mr. Creel, in a recent magazine article has adequately summarized the effect of the visit of the Mexican editors as follows:

It was interesting to watch the change in public opinion in Mexico as our educational effort began to strike hard against German lie and anti-American prejudice. What really clinched the victory, however, was the visit of a score of Mexican editors to the United States as guests of the Committee on Public Information. We took them from coast to coast, letting them see with their own eyes and hear with their own ears, and having them received by the President, who marked the occasion by a memorable address. We sent them back to Mexico convinced not only of our friendship, not only of the justice of our cause, but equally convinced of America's might and determination.

*Liberty Loan Campaigns.*—Cooperating with the American ambassador, an American citizens' committee and the

American Chamber of Commerce in Mexico, this office did its share toward making the third and fourth Liberty loan drives a success in Mexico. Through the machinery of the section Liberty loan posters and literature were obtained and distributed. Under the auspices of the committee two rallies were held in the American Club in the City of Mexico, at which were present as guests of honor all of the Allied diplomats accredited to the Mexican Government. Enthusiasm was stimulated at these rallies by exhibitions of the committee's war films, and subscriptions aggregating \$300,000 were obtained from among the audiences.

*War Savings Stamps.*—The section aided in encouraging the sale of war savings stamps by distributing literature.

*United War Work Campaign.*—The organization of the section was placed at the disposal of, and utilized by, the committee which raised Mexico's quota of the United War Work fund.

*Liberty Truth Committee.*—This committee, composed of representatives of the American Chamber of Commerce in Mexico, and operating in close cooperation with the section, aided vitally in our newspaper campaign by obtaining advertising appropriations from American business concerns for the legitimate encouragement of newspapers and other publications which supported our cause.

*Advertising.*—The section bought and used freely advertising space, plainly marked as such, in newspapers and magazines. Its appropriation for this purpose was inadequate, but profitable reaction resulted from what expenditures it was able to make. Especially effective was a series of full-page and half-page advertisements announcing the heavy oversubscription to the fourth Liberty loan which were printed to counteract the intensive and desperate efforts of the Germans to delude the Mexican public into believing that the American people had repudiated the war through failure to subscribe the full amount of the loan.

*Buttons.*—A trial shipment of 50,000 celluloid buttons bearing the flags of the United States and of the Spanish American Republics which entered the war against Germany, and the legend "Allied in Honor," proved so popular that 100,000 more were obtained. The end of the war rendered it unnecessary to continue this distribution although at least

a half million additional buttons would have been required to fill the orders which poured into the offices of the section.

*Traveling Representative.*—So long as the work warranted a traveling representative of the section was kept constantly on the road visiting correspondents, ascertaining the needs of their particular districts, directing the work in the field, and serving as a personal link between headquarters and those who aided the committee in the interior. In his work he traveled over two-thirds of the Republic from the northern states to Yucatan and between the Gulf and the Pacific coasts.

### THE WORK IN FRANCE.

(By JAMES KERNEY, Commissioner.)

(**NOTE.**—In addition to intelligently employing all possible agencies for the sustaining of the morale of the French people, the headquarters of the committee in Paris was the clearing house for the diffusion into the allied, neutral, and enemy countries of Europe of fullest information, compatible with military considerations, regarding the activities of the American Naval and Expeditionary Forces as well as the American war effort at home. The work was under the direction of James Kerney, editor of the Trenton Evening Times, who went overseas in February, 1918, remaining until shortly before the signing of the armistice.)

France was naturally badly nerve racked following the military reverses of 1917. An aggressive defeatist offensive, aimed directly at America, had been made during the winter of 1917-18. The constant air raids and shelling of the big gun, coupled with the proximity of the enemy in the spring fighting, served to intensify the anxiety in Paris during the spring and early summer of 1918. This was reflected in the unrest and uncertainty existing everywhere in the industrial plants engaged in producing war supplies. “Can America get here in time to be effective?” was the ever-present query. In this situation it was highly desirable that an energetic and convincing educational campaign as to our progress and aims should be speedily launched. The press, magazines, universities, lecture platforms, moving pictures, posters,

leaflets—all were employed in making known our grim determination, as well as our capacity, to see it through.

An efficient staff, including newspaper and magazine writers, university and other lecturers, translators, and clerks, was quickly assembled. I was given the fullest cooperation at all times by Gen. Pershing, Admiral Wilson, and Ambassador Sharp, each of whom has paid a generous tribute to the committee's accomplishments in France.

At first the Paris offices were at 37 Rue Laperouse, but when, in June, the Army headquarters were removed to the Elysee Palace Hotel, space was assigned the committee in that building. This greatly facilitated the work. An office was also provided for us in the Maison de la Presse, the official propaganda division of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. At all times the most cordial relationship was maintained with the information sections of the British, French, and Italian Governments.

Associated with me were: Martin Egan, at General Pershing's headquarters; M. Firman Roz, of the University of Paris (Sorbonne), and Herbert Adams Gibbons, the principal lecturers for the committee; Madame Edith Bagues, an American, who acted as executive secretary; Wilmot H. Lewis, in charge of press matters and who likewise served as liaison officer with the French propaganda officials; Edgar B. Hatrick, who supervised and planned moving and still picture productions; Frank Fayant and Maximilian Foster, press representatives of the committee at Great Headquarters and the fighting front, respectively; Frank M. Mansfield and A. M. Brace, news editors; Claude Berton and M. Beryl, French journalists and translators; besides the stenographic and clerical force. James H. Hyde, an American residing in France, by reason of his wide and favorable acquaintance in French governmental, university, and journalistic circles, rendered the cause a voluntary service of inestimable value. The Marquise de Polignac, also an American, was likewise a very useful volunteer on the staff. Hugh Gibson, First Secretary of Embassy, was loaned to the committee for a part of the time by the State Department, and, as occasion demanded, the personnel included Army officers specially detailed to serve under Maj. A. L. James, jr., who, for

several months, as chief of the Press and Censorship Division of the Intelligence Section, had offices immediately adjoining those of the committee in Paris. Maj. James, representing the General Staff, gave the committee the most complete cooperation, as did his immediate superior, Gen. Denis E. Nolan, chief of the Intelligence Section, and likewise Gen. Edgar E. Russell, chief of the Signal Corps.

In so far as it was practicable, with the already overburdened wires, the Paris office sought to link up the folks at home with the Army each day by relaying to Great Headquarters and the various bases in France copies of the daily wireless service from America (containing about 1,500 words summarization of the news), which service was likewise furnished, for the accommodation and comfort of the soldier, to the Paris editions of the London Daily Mail, the New York Herald, and the Chicago Tribune, as well as the Stars and Stripes. All of these publications made liberal use of this home news, and so much as was available was translated into French and published in both the Parisian and provincial press.

This service was also transmitted to the bureau of the committee at Berne, Rome, Lisbon, and Madrid, supplemented by a daily service telling of the activities of the American forces on the fighting front. The news reports from the front were written by the representative of the committee attached to the press headquarters in the zone of advance, and, in addition to being sent to the above-named capitals, were wired to London for distribution in Great Britain, Holland, and the Scandinavian countries, as well as to South America.

In order to get an adequate presentation of work of preparation that America found necessary, before troops could be landed and fought to the best advantage and in keeping with American standards, it was necessary to overcome some drastic existing French censorship regulations. When I had formulated a program for the work in France, I talked it over with Gen. Pershing, Premier Clemenceau, and Capt. Tardieu, head of American relations for the French Government. They gave the program their entire approval, and M. Clemenceau promptly had the French censorship rules so modified as to freely permit of the publication of the

story of "America in France," without so localizing it as to give information to the enemy. Leading writers for the French magazines and reviews, with illustrators, as well as many famous journalists, accepted invitations to visit the American work, and the publications were soon crowded with the remarkable accomplishments of our Army and Navy. This liberal treatment of the work continued until accounts of the glorious conduct of the troops at the fighting front produced the finest propaganda that ever appeared in any country. I personally visited the newspaper publishers of the big provincial cities, and these powerful journals accorded America the same generous and enthusiastic treatment as was given by the Parisian press. Writers from Spain, Switzerland, Italy, Holland, and the Scandinavian countries were brought to France and shown over the sectors in which the Americans were operating and the reports they published were exceedingly useful in their effect not only in their home countries but upon the civilian morale of Germany. This was particularly the case with the publication of American news in Switzerland, which occupied the most advantageous position in the matter of enemy propaganda. Photographs of the American work and of the American fighters were supplied in great quantities, through the Signal Corps of the Army, and were likewise dispatched weekly to the committee's representatives all over Europe, with the result that American pictures and American news filled the reviews and journals everywhere.

The production and distribution of still photographs and moving pictures was of major importance. In addition to the weekly shipments of photographs to London, Berne, Rome, Madrid, Lisbon, and other points, moving pictures were sent for use in the governmental and commercial cinema houses. The first big production of exclusively American films was entitled "America's Answer to the Hun" and was assembled by Edgar B. Hatrick, who spent six months with the committee supervising the motion and still picture work. The initial showing of the film was made at the Gaumont Palace, Paris, June 26, 1918—the first anniversary of the landing of our troops at St. Nazaire. It was witnessed by practically all of the members of the Senate and Chamber

of Deputies, the diplomatic representatives of Great Britain, Italy, and Japan, as well as many of the allied military and naval chiefs, and was given a mighty reception. This film, in four reels, depicted the protection afforded by the American Navy to transports, disembarking of troops, our construction and installations at ports and along the lines of communication right up to the fighting front, the ambulance and supply services. It concluded with a number of scenes showing the American fighters in action at Chateau Thierry, and one section of the theater was reserved for wounded doughboys from the hospitals in and about Paris. Columns of space were devoted to the event in the newspapers of France and England, and copies of the film were promptly sent to all the allied and neutral countries for showing there. The big commercial producers, Gaumont and Pathe, arranged at once to send it into all their houses in France, and it was used most successfully among the troops, in factories, universities, schools, etc.

#### THE LECTURE CAMPAIGN.

One of the most enduring features of the work was the system of university and university extension lectures that was carried on throughout the spring and summer of 1918. Shortly after my arrival, I met the presidents of all of the French universities and presented to them a plan aimed at combating the wide-spread anti-American propaganda throughout France, by making known the spirit and extent of America's part in the war. These lectures were further framed to put the story of America's greatness, in some permanent form, into the minds of the local leaders of thought, as well as into the minds of the people. The committee was able to get into personal touch with more than 200 qualified lecturers, furnishing them with literature and documents, as well as lantern slides, with the result that practically every part of France was reached. The presidents of the universities gave their heartiest cooperation and 150,000 copies of a pamphlet containing a summarization of American information was distributed to the school teachers. The university presidents, together with the Ministry of Public Instruction,

agreed upon M. Firman Roz, of the University of Paris, as a man most eminently fitted to inaugurate the American lectures. Mr. Roz, together with some other university representatives and writers, was taken over the American lines of communication and supplies, as well as to the front lines. The series of lectures began at the Sorbonne on May 24, M. Lucien Poincaire, brother of the President of the Republic, presiding. Immediately after this initial lecture M. Firman Roz began his tour of the universities, speaking at Bordeaux, Toulouse, Montpellier, Marseille, Grenoble, Chambery, Lyon, Djon, Besancon, Caen, Rennes, Poitiers, and Claremont-Ferand.

These lectures gave America much publicity in the provincial press and had an especially good influence on the editorial columns. The presidents of the respective universities had invited to the lectures leading professors from each town in the educational district under the control of the university. In this way the university extension lectures were developed, the local professors organizing lecture centers. A complete list of these lectures was kept in Paris and fresh literature, giving the latest information about America, regularly mailed to them. Local lectures were also given in many of the big provincial towns, the committee receiving fine cooperation on the part of American consular representatives. Through the consulates, everywhere, printed matter was distributed and in the larger centers such as Havre, Cherbourg, Marseille, Nantes, Tours, St. Nazaire, Lyon, Boulogne, Franco-American demonstrations, including lectures and production of movie films, were provided.

At the urgent request of the French Minister of Munitions, lectures on the American participation in the war were given in the various industrial plants in France engaged in manufacturing war supplies. The purpose of these lectures was to stem the unrest that was constantly cropping up. These lectures were given by Dr. Herbert Adams Gibbons. At the same time the film "America's Answer to the Hun" was shown. Both the French Government officials and the manufacturers pronounced this work as highly valuable in its effect on the industrial situation. The proprietors and managers of the big steel and munitions plants were brought

together in Paris on July 5, the meeting being presided over by M. Loucheur, Minister of Munitions, who dwelt upon the importance of the lecture and cinematographic work of the committee in France.

Dr. Gibbons's first lecture in this unique course was at the factory of Louis Renault, where aeroplane motors, motor trucks, tanks, cannon and shells were being produced. The lecture was given twice in this plant, being recorded both stenographically and on the phonograph in order that it might get the most complete distribution among the 25,000 employees. M. Renault subsequently declared that this exposition of America's part insured his plant against any labor disturbances for at least six months. The film was shown and the lecture given in all of the large plants engaged in the manufacture of war materials throughout France. Upwards of 100,000 copies of the lecture were printed at the expense of the manufacturers for distribution among their employees.

On the invitation of the official French Propaganda Bureau, Dr. Gibbons spent several days lecturing in the mining country and, at the instance of the same organization, went for 10 days into Alsace, explaining the American situation to the populations of the reconquered regions and, in turn, explaining the Alsatian question to the American troops occupying sectors on that front. Dr. Gibbons, working in conjunction with the Marquise de Polignac, arranged for the distribution among the peasants of France of 100,000 copies of a special leaflet, and otherwise rendered worthy service by reason of his knowledge of the country, resulting from his long residence there.

The committee likewise cooperated with the ministries of labor and of agriculture and in conjunction with these departments of the French Government, several hundred thousand posters were put out, together with many leaflets. Altogether the committee, directly, and in association with the French Government, distributed more than 1,000,000 pamphlets, posters, and leaflets bearing on America.

Besides the pamphlets and leaflets specifically noted above, the committee published a French translation, in booklet form, of the report of the first year's work of American

preparation, 10,000 copies being distributed among the newspapers and through the American consuls and the numerous French propaganda agencies. Upward of 200,000 copies of a special résumé of the American effort were put out in the month of July; and as the news and opportunity presented, other thousands of brochures and posters were distributed.

#### EDUCATING THE ENEMY.

For the first five months that the committee operated in Paris there was close cooperation with the French bureau having directly in charge the dissemination into Germany and among the German troops of facts to combat false information regarding America. Shortly after he opened his offices, I had assigned to me by the Intelligence Section of the A. E. F., Lieut. Harry A. Franck, who was familiar with the German language and conditions and who kept in touch with the French Department of Enemy Propaganda. Despite the difficulties resulting from the lack of adequate aeroplanes, there was at all times a reasonable flow into Germany of facts, printed in German, regarding America and American ideals. The newspapers from Germany were carefully watched and their misrepresentations were met with tracts and pamphlets, sent over the lines both by plane and balloon and dropped on the cities. It was the practice of the German press, for example, to so distort the speeches of President Wilson as to give an entirely erroneous meaning to the excerpts used. This character of deception was overcome, as far as possible, by the immediate flooding of Germany, from the air, with pamphlets giving in parallel columns the German version and the correct version of the speech, the portions altered or deleted by the Germans, in their original publications, being emphasized. The Germans had kept up, both at home and in France, a terrific propaganda that our participation was all "Yankee bluff," and the committee kept diligently hammering away to offset these charges in both countries. It was the opinion of the French governmental chiefs that the most effective method of reaching the German civilian population was through the Swiss newspapers, printed in German, and every effort was made to keep the Berne office of the committee fully sup-

plied with American information. That office, under the direction of Mrs. Vera B. Whitehouse, was doubtless the greatest single factor in getting the story of America into Germany.

With the enormous influx of American troops and the victories along the Marne, it became apparent during the month of June that, for diffusion into Germany, information regarding the United States had a preponderant value. The French bureau was reorganized and Commandant Chaix, a thorough-going business man, placed at its head. A most efficient equipment was assembled, and the documents were given a genuine German appearance as to paper, type, typesetting, and the fine points of German diction. The printers were German prisoners chosen for this particular task. For the troops special matter was prepared, according to nationalities. The military authorities, as soon as the presence in certain trenches of Jugo-Slav, Polish, or other elements, or of German troops from disaffected districts, was noted, at once conveyed the information to the end that material specially designed to appeal to these respective forces might be dispatched.

At the end of June and during early July, when some of the German newspapers began to wake up to the fact that there really was more than a million American troops in France and that they were most desperate fighters, there appeared articles indicating war weariness and hints that all might not be going so well on the western front. This material was quickly reproduced in Paris and spread among the German troops. It was along in July that the first genuine effects of the enemy propaganda were felt. On July 18 a conference of heads of the British, French, Belgian, and American services was held in the office of the committee. It was the frank consensus of opinion that the place for concentrated effective work was in front of the American lines, then shortly to be very greatly extended. Gen. Nolan, Maj. James, and Capt. Mark Watson of the Intelligence Section, A. E. F., attended the conference, and soon thereafter a special group of experts, under the immediate direction of Maj. James, took over the American end of the work.

## THE WORK IN HOLLAND.

(By HENRY SNYDAM, Commissioner.)

Holland must be regarded as having offered the main avenue of attack upon the public opinion of the German masses. It was not, like other neutral countries adjacent to German territory, the scene of international conferences or sinister outside influences, but presented a clear and homogeneous field for the dissemination of information. The information provided was therefore designed to gain direct circulation in Holland, but the content was always chosen with regard to the ultimate effect on the German masses.

The general problem confronting the Committee on Public Information in the Netherlands was two-fold: (1) To enlighten Dutch public opinion with regard to the fairness and detachment of the United States, as well as to provide an adequate picture of American war effort as a factor in international affairs, and (2) to use Holland, as far as that might legitimately be done without committing a belligerent act, as a means of approach to all classes of Germans, who were to be convinced that the United States was strong, and would use that strength for the common good. The effort was to obtain facts emphasizing these points, and to present these facts to Dutch and Germans with due force and precision.

The broader details of these problems, with their solution and the nature of achievement, were as follows:

## 1. NEWS DISTRIBUTION.

When my work in Holland began, the Dutch press—through which the German press maintained a large degree of contact with the United States—was without adequate American news. American editorial comment appeared in the Dutch press when it furthered the peculiar interest of some foreign news agency, and not otherwise. American news was selected by these agencies for interested reasons. Reuter and Havas were, in the opinion of Dutch editors, nothing more than the mouthpieces of the British and French Governments, and, as such, little better, in effect, than

the German Wolff Bureau. It was perhaps unavoidable, but none the less unfortunate, that many of the earlier of President Wilson's speeches reached the Germans first through these agencies. With the cooperation of John Work Garrett, American minister in The Hague, I never ceased to insist that these speeches should reach the Germans first either through an American or Dutch source. In two or three instances the text of such speeches was telegraphed direct to me, and distributed to a Dutch news agency which either telegraphed the text direct to the German press, or handed it to German correspondents, who telephoned it to their newspapers, as notably in the case of the Frankfort Gazette. The Frankfort Gazette was the organ of the Reichstag majority parties, and publication of the President's speeches therein, in correct text, some hours previous to publication in the semiofficial German Government organs, such as the North German Gazette and the Cologne Gazette, forced them to publish accurate, unaltered versions. This method not only purveyed them to the German masses without outside interference, but often had the effect of forcing the German Government to issue the full text. When the method was finally adopted of issuing the President's speeches on the American wireless, the text appeared fully and quickly in both Dutch and German press, and the question was solved.

Although Reuter's Telegraph Agency offered very great and very unstinted assistance at all times, I felt that, however irreproachable its motive for the common cause, it had identified its service too exactly with the British Government to be of exclusive value to the United States in a neutral country, and therefore although I did not discriminate against it, I saw no reason why Reuter's should be favored over the two Dutch agencies. These were the Hollandsch Nieuwe Bureau (The Hague) and the Persbureau M. S. Vas Dias (Amsterdam), and although the former especially was under some suspicion as having too close German connections, I felt that its full use for our own purposes was justifiable, especially as it was the one Dutch news service of consequence. A regular service of American news, selected by the Committee on Public Information in New York, under my constant correction and advice, was telegraphed

to me daily, together with a special service from general headquarters of the American Expeditionary Forces. Both of these services were edited and issued, in various forms and through various means, direct to the Dutch press. I furthermore purchased a daily copy of the American news wireless from a Dutch receiving station, and issued sections of these items to such Dutch agencies as did not operate a wireless receiving station, and, in many instances, to Reuter as well.

Although there were no Dutch newspaper men in the United States, all the larger Dutch dailies maintained men in London and Paris. It was my plan to have these men in close touch with American official sources of information in those capitals. I, therefore, gave a dinner on May 23, 1918, in the mess of the American Embassy in London, to the four Dutch editors resident in England (representing Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant, Handelsblad, and Telegraaf of Amsterdam, and Nieuws van den Dag of The Hague). There were present representatives of the American Army and Navy and of all other departments of the Government functioning in England, all of whom expressed willingness to provide information for the Dutch editors on demand. From letters subsequently intercepted by the censorship, I learned that the effect of this entertainment on the Dutch editors was to give them a new conception of Americans and Americanism.

The advantage thus gained was quickly followed up. On June 5, 1918, I escorted Dr. Peter Geyl, editor in England of Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant, and Mr. E. W. de Jong, editor in England of Handelsblad (Amsterdam) to Queenstown for an inspection of the American destroyer base, engaged in convoy and antisubmarine work. Upon returning from Queenstown, the correspondents had a long interview with Admiral Sims. On June 14, we arrived in Paris, proceeding thence to the French coast at St. Nazaire, and following the American lines of communication to the front in Lorraine. Thus the representatives of the two most important newspapers in Holland had followed the course of an American soldier from the moment his transport was picked

up by the convoys until he had arrived in a front-line-trench. From this trip, which was one of the first excursions of neutral editors to the American front, and the first of any neutrals to the American fleets, there resulted 19 long telegrams and 8 mail stories in the Dutch press, all of which were copied extensively in the German press, and thus provided the first independent neutral testimony of the size of American effort. The interview with Admiral Sims on the success of our antisubmarine measures provoked much protest from German naval experts, and Mr. de Jong's telegram, "The American phase of the war has begun," was produced in all the important German newspapers and circulated by the semiofficial Wolff Bureau.

It is interesting to note that Mr. A. G. Boissevain, editor of the *Handelsblad* (Amsterdam) stated to me confidentially about August 1, 1918, that when Mr. de Jong's figures regarding the size of the American establishment in France were published, both the German foreign office and the general staff summoned the Berlin correspondent of the *Handelsblad* and demanded to know whether Mr. de Jong was the type of man who would allow himself to be bought by the American Government. It was apparent that the German authorities were simply staggered at the direct revelations made as the result of this excursion, which I regard as one of the most important single contributions of our whole work in the Netherlands.

Arrangements were later made for the Dutch editors in Paris to make similar trips, under the auspices of the Paris office of the Committee on Public Information.

To summarize, then, our solution of the problem of providing adequate American news to the Dutch press, through Dutch or American sources, I was able to accomplish the following: (1) To provide direct telegraphic and wireless news and comment from the United States to Dutch news agencies and newspapers; (2) to establish contact between Dutch editors in Great Britain and France with American news sources, and, furthermore, (3) to maintain close personal contact with the more important Dutch editors in Holland; and (4) later to issue, in the form of a daily bulletin, translations of the more significant news items and

comment appearing in the American press during each 24 hours—a service that was sent regularly to some 76 Dutch newspapers. Through these means I was not only able to reduce the suspicion of Dutch editors of American news served through interested British or French sources and censorship, but to establish direct news communication between the two countries.

## 2. MOTION PICTURES.

The second most important aspect of our work was education by means of motion pictures. Upon my arrival in Holland from England, I found several consignments of very old and unsuitable films, dealing mostly with current events in the United States. Furthermore, there was no cooperation between the British, French, and Italians. Mr. George F. Steward, representative of the British ministry of information in Holland, aided me in establishing an interallied cinema committee, which functioned in connection with an interallied blockade committee, composed of the commercial attachés of the four allied legations.

As the Dutch exhibitors, to say nothing of the Dutch audiences, had been subject to war films for almost four years when the Committee on Public Information in Holland arrived on the scene, it was my conviction that only the most unusual American war films would have effect. Moreover, it was our opinion that straight American commercial films of superior sort would be a new and invaluable form of education for the Dutch public. I therefore cabled to Washington, pointing out the shortage of good allied war films, together with the dangers arising from an adequate German supply, and requesting a large consignment of straight commercial films as well. As a result of this telegram, Mr. Llewellyn R. Thomas, of New York, a motion-picture expert, was dispatched to The Hague, and arrived with several hundred thousand feet of war, educational, and commercial film, all of which was sold, not given, to the Dutch exhibitors, for the total sum of \$57,340.80, with a very considerable profit to the American producers, for whose future benefit, moreover, an American market was thus established.

On November 4, 1918, a private performance of America's Answer was given to the general staffs of the Dutch Army and Navy in The Hague. The Dutch officers expressed themselves as greatly impressed, and many in the audience showed their appreciation by rising when President Wilson and Gen. Pershing were thrown on the screen.

### 3. PAMPHLETS.

Although the use of the pamphlet as an educational measure had been very general in Europe during the war, I was convinced that, for our work, the extensive printing of such matter would be a waste of money. We issued only one booklet—a collection of the pronouncements of President Wilson concerning the League of Nations, comprising excerpts from his speeches and statements from February 1, 1916, to September 27, 1918. Of these, 10,000 copies were printed, and distributed to universities, schools, public libraries, editors, members of both Houses of Parliament, members of the Government, and other persons of importance. The residue, after such distribution, was sent to various persons on the mailing list of the German propaganda in Holland, a copy of which had come into my hands.

Special articles on various American subjects from American magazines and reviews were translated, however, and issued to the Dutch press or to individual editors, and these, in my opinion, were of far greater value than any cheap pleading by pamphlets scattered about in barber shops and bars.

### 4. AMERICAN LITERATURE.

There was a noticeable absence of books and magazines in the Dutch libraries concerning American topics. Apart from the distribution of American newspapers, reviews, magazines, and trade publications, four complete sets of books were obtained from the Foreign Section of the Committee on Public Information in Washington. These books, written by American experts in international law, politics, history, economics, social conditions, and various other aspects of Americanism, were presented to the Nieuwe of Litteraire Societeit, the largest club in Holland, situated in The Hague and frequented by all important governmental

officers and business men, to the Royal Library in The Hague, to the University of Leiden, and to the State University of Amsterdam. There were about 25 volumes in each set.

#### 5. PHOTOGRAPHS.

A regular supply of photographs dealing with American war making was received from Washington and general headquarters of the American Expeditionary Forces. These were exhibited in shop windows in the larger cities and towns throughout Holland. They were regularly sent to Dutch photographic agencies and published in the Dutch illustrated press. The Dutch agencies also sent them to German agencies in Berlin and Vienna, and many of them were printed in the German illustrated journals.

#### 6. COUNTER PROPAGANDA.

The German Government—whether the Imperial Government before the armistice, or the Republican Government afterwards—maintained a very elaborate organization on which the evidence shows that millions of marks were expended. It was, of course, impossible for me to fight such an organization with its own weapons. Frequent attacks, however, were made on the United States, either by means of deliberate lies or perversions of the truth. These were constantly contradicted in the Dutch press by means of special information telegraphed from Washington, at my request, from the department of the Government concerned. The German propaganda fell into well-recognized lines of policies, such as questioning the intellectual sincerity of American war aims, belittling our physical effort, and attempting to corrupt relations between the allied and associated governments. We were able to fight the Germans along these same lines, and by insisting, time after time, on a given point, to induce them ultimately to abandon the gesture as worthless.

#### 7. INTELLECTUAL CONTACT.

The German so-called “intellectual propaganda” in Holland was very effective. Prof. Hans Delbrueck, professor in

the University of Berlin, and leader of a group of German Moderates, made frequent excursions to Holland, for the purpose of lecturing at the universities, and talking with prominent Dutchmen. He was usually accompanied by Kurt Hahn, a young German educated in England, who was believed to provide the lines of attack to the German "intellectual propagandists" in Holland.

This form of German propaganda was very successful. Although my remedy for this—the establishment of a two-year lectureship at the University of Leiden in American history, held by a prominent American academician (cf. my report dated London, April 8, 1918, section 2)—was not adopted, we were able to make considerable progress. Lieut. Leonard van Noppen, U. S. N. R. F., former Queen Wilhelmina professor of Dutch in Columbia University, and assistant naval attaché at The Hague, was of very great service in reaching the intellectual aristocracy of Holland. I myself made it a point to know as many important Dutchmen as possible, to meet them frequently, and to set them right, in short conversations, on many points of American policy which they professed to misunderstand. John C. Wiley, second secretary of the American Legation in The Hague, and Paul L. Edwards, commercial attaché, were of very great assistance in this difficult work.

#### 8. CONTACT WITH THE LEGATION.

It was a settled policy to act in very close cooperation with the legation, and more especially with Mr. John W. Garrett, the minister in The Hague. As the Committee on Public Information was the mouthpiece of the United States Government in Holland, I considered it of the utmost importance to acquaint myself with the general business of the legation as far as it affected relations between the two countries. Although the Committee on Public Information was a separate organization, I maintained close contact with the diplomatic situation as conceived by the legation, and in return received the advice and assistance of the minister. Our relations were always most cordial, and both of us were able to perform services for the other which ordinarily would have lain outside our regular duties.

Through the kindness of the minister in allowing us to install a motion-picture projector in his residence, we were able to reach many of the most influential members of the Dutch Government and of the allied and neutral diplomatic corps who otherwise would never have been available for our motion-picture educational campaign.

Up to the time of the arrival of Mr. Llewellyn R. Thomas, to take charge of the motion-picture campaign, in October, 1918, it was impossible to obtain assistance in my work. After Mr. Thomas' arrival, he engaged himself in many activities which he was able to serve in addition to his motion-picture work, and I can not recommend him too highly for his ungrudging assistance.

In conclusion, I wish to state that the work of the Committee on Public Information in Holland was designed to show to the Dutch, and, as might be, to the Germans, what Americanism, as a moral force in operation, really meant. My work started at a very critical time, when neither the dignity of President Wilson's position, nor the strength of our Americanism that supported it, was credited either in Holland or within the German borders. The details of what was accomplished remain a matter of record. In giving to the Dutch public an array of facts through *American* sources, we appealed to both their reason and sentiment—not through a blatant propaganda but through restrained presentation of the truth—to a degree which I venture to hope will have some lasting effect on the good relations between the Netherlands and the United States.

HENRY SUYDAM,  
*Commissioner for Holland.*

#### WORK IN SWITZERLAND.

(By VIRA B. WHITEHOUSE, Commissioner.)

German propaganda had been developing in Switzerland for 30 or 40 years and was conducted by a corps of trained experts. It was common gossip that there were between 800 and 1,200 German diplomatic representatives, a large majority of whom were said to be active in propaganda.

Their policy was to buy or subsidize Swiss newspapers and news agencies and leave them under the Swiss directors. They also had a system of paying the smaller papers throughout Switzerland for every paragraph or item sent by German-owned news agencies which were published.

The motion-picture houses in German Switzerland were said to be either owned outright or controlled by the German Government. The same situation applied to theaters, opera houses, and commercial establishments. They had a very complete, accurate, and efficient system of circularization. The result of their activities was that Switzerland was inundated not only by pro-German propaganda, but by anti-Ally and especially anti-American propaganda.

On my arrival, I found that the Germans were maintaining that America could not raise an army in spite of her draft law, that she could not train it, could not arm it, could not transport it to Europe and if she did, the untrained soldiers could not face the German heroes. They tried to persuade the Swiss that America was going to invade Switzerland in order to attack Germany. They agitated a great deal about a secret treaty which was supposed to exist between the United States and Great Britain in regard to Japan. They tried to show our weakness at home by reporting that our difficulties on the Mexican border amounted to our being at war with that country and they insinuated that we meant to annex it. They tried to create difficulties between the Allies by articles showing that the Americans had invaded France to the latter country's disadvantage. They harped upon our supposed effort to steal Great Britain's place as the leader of commerce on the seas.

I found no agency interested in presenting the American side. There were only a few American items sent by Havas or Reuter on subjects of general interest. The Swiss papers and public were eager for American news.

#### IMPORTANCE OF SWITZERLAND AS NEWS CENTER.

The importance of Switzerland as a news center for us was that it is the only neutral nation whose newspapers are printed in the German language, and they had a free and

large circulation in Austria and Germany. They were not only read in Germany, but the German press quoted from them freely. The liberal German papers especially followed everything that was said in the Swiss papers. Getting our news into the German Swiss press was the best way of getting it into Germany.

There were about 20,000 German prisoners in Switzerland who communicated with their relatives in Germany. They also read the Swiss papers. A great number of Germans came back and forth into Switzerland very freely and in large numbers. Gossip and rumor circulated freely between Switzerland and Germany.

As soon as I could find a few assistants I organized my office into the following departments:

DAILY NEWS SERVICE.

[Under the direction of Mr. George B. Fife.]

Our service arrived early in the morning. It was re-written in simple English, translated into French and German and delivered to the Agence Telegraphique Suisse, the official Swiss news agency, which distributed it for us to the Swiss press. This agency was reported to be unsympathetic. We found that mistakes were made in our figures and that some times important items were overlooked. We took great pains in confirming and reconfirming by telephone and by letter all figures, and in order to avoid any oversight in distributing important news items, we, ourselves, would telegraph or telephone such items directly to the papers.

The news items from our service aroused great public interest and American news was much discussed. We believe that to this fact is due the enormously increased use of the Havas and Reuter items on American events.

In August I was able to report to the Committee on Public Information in Washington that an estimated minimum of 2,000 paragraphs of our service was being published weekly in the Swiss papers.

All the President's speeches and notes were translated in full and sent both in English and German, or English and French, to every newspaper. Previously only extracts had been carried by Havas and Reuter.

The News Service Department sent weekly bulletins directly to the editorial offices of all the papers, reviewing the American events of greatest interest of the past week, and commenting upon their significance.

#### SPECIAL SERVICES.

From the Foreign Press Bureau in New York, under the directorship of Mr. Ernest Poole, we received special articles and feature stories through the diplomatic pouch. These articles we found of great value, but they presented enormous difficulties. They had to be rewritten and edited from the Swiss point of view and connected with events in Switzerland, before they were translated. Until the armistice negotiations began to absorb public attention, we placed almost 100 per cent of these articles which we succeeded in having translated. On October 8 I was able to report to the Foreign Press Bureau that during the previous six weeks we had records of 123 separate articles published (some had been given exclusively to one paper or magazine, others to agencies and had appeared in a number of papers); 72 accepted by papers and magazines but not yet printed; 59 on hand translated but not distributed; 22 sent out to translators but not yet returned. Extracts from the Foreign Press Bureau were useful as news items also, although they were many weeks old when we received them.

This department sent a biweekly information service to the editorial staffs of the newspapers, including in this service such material as Secretary Baker's military report, the Shipping Board's report, Navy reports on naval constructions, etc. Many extracts from them were printed in the press and they furnished good material for editorials.

The Mittel Presse, an agency which served a collection of small German Swiss papers, formerly considered pro-German, accepted a service of special articles from us three times a week.

A number of pamphlets were issued and circulated, including one of the Bolshevik revelations, President Wilson's speeches, and one on America's achievement in the first year of the war. These pamphlets were printed in comparatively small numbers—about 10,000 in the first edition.

They were distributed free to men of prominence and influence and put on sale at bookshops and news stands at a nominal price. The sales brought no return to us.

#### STILL PHOTOGRAPHS.

Under the direction of Mr. Valentini we received from the Foreign Press Bureau photographs illustrating some of their special articles. We received from the Photographic Division of the United States Army photographs of American activities in France and on the front. These we placed successfully in illustrated magazines and papers, but the particular use made of them was for displays in shop windows and in small glass cases along the arcaded streets of the Swiss cities. In October, 1918, we reported that 1,988 enlarged photographs of 127 different kinds were then on exhibition in 77 places in 33 towns.

#### MOTION-PICTURE FILMS.

[Also under the direction of Mr. Valentine.]

The Allies recognized that this was an important field of propaganda and appointed an interallied committee to work out a plan of cooperation. The mere report of joint action on the part of the Allies caused one of the German-owned companies to offer for sale their large chain of houses. In spite of this indication of the power of the joint allied actions, the Allies could agree to no plans, except that no allied film of commercial value should be sold except on condition that a certain per cent of news or the propaganda film should be shown with it. When the armistice was signed the need of controlling the cinema situation ended. In the meantime, the British and French disputed that American propaganda on news films should be shown with American films of commercial value, because the British claimed that all American commercial films were British property because the accepted business method is to sell American films to British firms who reproduce them in England on British material. The French claimed they were French property because the method of renting them in Europe was through French firms with right for other countries. For this reason the Com-

mittee on Public Information in Washington sent through the diplomatic pouch directly to me about 145,000 feet, or about 195 reels, of romantic story films of commercial value to which we could attach American news or propaganda for an entire American program. After the armistice we sold at a price satisfactory to the former owners all but two of these films. Beginning in September we received weekly consignment of news films from the American Expeditionary Forces.

The failure of the Allies to act in concert had no serious consequences, as the motion-picture houses in Switzerland were almost continuously closed on account of a succession of epidemics of Spanish gripe.

#### SWISS MISSION.

We sent a delegation of six of the most prominent editors in Switzerland representing the six largest newspapers there on a trip to the United States.

#### PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

We obtained wide publicity for a message from President Wilson sent on November 7 to the peoples of the nations liberated from the yoke of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. As connections between Switzerland and Austria were broken and no information could be obtained as to conditions across the Austrian frontier, I took the message across myself.

#### SUCCESS.

I believe the work of the Committee on Public Information in Switzerland was undoubtedly successful. When we opened our office there was very little knowledge of the American situation, either there or in the Central Empires. Soon American prowess was the chief topic of comment. The proof that our activities had something to do with this change was to be found in the frequent comments in the German and German Swiss press on our service. The Morgen Zeitung, a German-owned paper in Zurich, explained that our news service offered the only information obtainable about the war craze that had taken hold of America.

It was openly acknowledged that the United States had the most friendly press support of all the Allies in Switzerland.

#### POLICY.

The policy of the Committee on Public Information was to buy no papers, people, business, or buildings. Not one cent went for corruption of any sort—subsidies or bribes—or was spent in any illegal manner.

#### THE SWISS GOVERNMENT.

The Swiss Government in all its departments with which my work brought me in contact was unfailingly friendly and helpful.

#### RESIGNATION.

After the armistice was signed, I felt my work had been done. I resigned and left Switzerland December 25. Mr. Guy Croswell Smith then took charge and remained until the office was closed, February 23, 1919.

MRS. NORMAN DE R. WHITEHOUSE,  
*Commissioner For Switzerland.*

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As Mrs. Whitehouse has submitted a report covering the activities of the Berne office up to December 25, I will speak of the continuance of the work until the close of the office on February 28, 1919.

I completed the publication of the various booklets which Mrs. Whitehouse had started. These were printed in German and included "The League of Nations," President Wilson's speeches, and several other of the most important of the committee's publications. They were circulated not only throughout Switzerland but in Germany, Austria-Hungary, and the Balkan countries.

The daily news service, weekly bulletins, and other special information services were continued to within a few days of our closing, and their termination was a matter of great regret to the press of Switzerland, who had come to rely upon our office for authentic, unbiased American news.

Upon the announcement of the closing of our office I received letters and expressions not only from the newspapers throughout the country, but from Swiss Government officials, the American Legation, and the office of the American military attaché, a few of which I beg leave to quote:

From the general manager of the Agence Telegraphique Suisse:

We are sorry indeed to learn that the Committee on Public Information is soon to close its office in Switzerland. Our papers will certainly regret it, for they have highly appreciated its interesting news service coming directly from the United States and which doubtless has exercised a great influence upon the cordial relations between the two Republics.

We wish that this service might continue under some form or other. It will be a great pity if the Swiss press receives its American news only through the channel of foreign agencies.

From William E. Rappard, professor, University of Geneva, and one of the most prominent men in Switzerland:

\* \* \* May I avail myself of this opportunity to congratulate you on the happy results your intelligent activity has achieved? Your office has certainly contributed to establish the good understanding which now so fortunately prevails between our two Republics.

From the Gazette de Lausanne, February 25:

The American press bureau which has been established in Berne as a part of the Committee on Public Information closes this week. Always scrupulously truthful, always well informed, the committee has supplied the press and authorities of Switzerland with much valuable information and was also a beneficent factor to aid those who were fighting against insidious German propaganda. The results were slow to manifest themselves; nevertheless, progress was certain.

Editorial written by Swiss Middle Press News Bureau and used in many papers:

It is stated that the American Committee on Public Information at Berne will close its bureau and discontinue its news service on the 22d February.

This announcement can not be passed over in silence. The American press service in Switzerland, as no other bureau which supplied the Swiss press with news and articles, has from the start taken a position which placed it far above the usual standard of propaganda. In this respect it formed a counterpart to the Swiss Mission, which not long ago went to America and was accompanied by Minister Sulzer, because it made it its principal object to explain to the Swiss the true conditions and intentions of America and to bring the two Republics

to a better mutual understanding. Just because of this high interpretation of its task, it has fulfilled its purpose. As far as its activity concerned the war, it was anything but an imperialistic war agitation; rather has it carried on only propaganda for a just and lasting peace and thereby gained the full appreciation of Switzerland. There is probably no State and no statesman so highly esteemed and regarded with so much confidence in Switzerland as the North American Union and its President Wilson.

GUY CROSWELL SMITH.

### WORK IN ITALY.

(By JOHN H. HEARLEY, Commissioner.)

In February, 1918, Hon. Thomas Nelson Page, American ambassador to Italy, opened an American news bureau at Rome and named Mr. John Hearley as its director. Two months later Capt. Charles E. Merriam, professor at the University of Chicago, arrived as the commissioner to Italy for the Committee on Public Information.

Using the news bureau established by Ambassador Page as a nucleus, Commissioner Merriam opened the committee's offices in Rome and attached Mr. Hearley to his staff. Afterwards Miss Gertrude Barr and Lieut. Walter Wanger, of the American Air Service in Italy, were added as executive secretary and American liaison officer, respectively, both of whom must be especially commended for efficient and loyal service. Capt. Piero Tozzi and Lieut. Albert Peccorini were attached as Italian liaison officers.

Under Commissioner Merriam's direction and guidance the committee in mid-April entered upon its task of mass education in Italy. The activities inaugurated varied in nature but all aimed at the instruction of the Italian people in the meaning, method, and progress of America's war. From the very beginning Italian officialdom exhibited a sympathetic interest in the committee's work and aided the committee's representatives on innumerable occasions.

Like all Europeans, the Italians were remarkably ignorant of America and things American and it was early found advisable to use a variety of channels to reach Italy's millions. The medium embraced public and private prints, such as official documents, newspapers and magazines, the speakers' platform, moving pictures, photographic displays and post card, flag, and kindred distribution.

Commissioner Merriam remained in Italy for six months, returning to America in late September. From the time of his departure to the closing of the Rome offices on March 7, 1919, Mr. John Hearley served as the committee's commissioner in Italy.

#### NEWS DEPARTMENT.

The news items distributed by this department were received daily by cable and wireless from either Paris or Washington or carried in a news feature letter called the Poole service, which was mailed weekly from New York. The Agenzia Stefani, Italy's largest press association, was furnished with a budget of spot news every day. The Stefani in turn supplied this news material to its several hundred newspapers and other clients throughout Italy. Moreover, these daily news items were gathered together in a journal, mimeographed and circulated by this department. Approximately 200 copies were mailed daily and penetrated into military, journalistic, educational and governmental circles.

Mr. Hearley, assisted by Mr. Kenneth Durant, directed the news department.

A feature section was in charge of Miss Alice Rohe and Kingsley Moses. It furnished feature articles or material for feature articles to the Italian newspapers and magazines.

#### PHOTOGRAPHIC AND MISCELLANEOUS DISTRIBUTIONS.

Under the direction of Mr. Byron M. Nester, the following distributions were made: The department of photographic and miscellaneous, 4,500,500 post cards; American bow pins, Italo-American ribbons and Italo-American buttons, 154,854; President Wilson posters, 68,574; assorted American war posters, 66,640; American flags in paper, 200,000; American flags in cloth, 30; sheet music, Star-Spangled Banner, 33,300; booklets containing extracts from President Wilson's speeches, 326,650; pamphlets containing American war statistics and other information, 364,235; United-States maps, 200; President Wilson photographs, 500; President Wilson engravings, 35.

Reprints from American photographic displays were exhibited in 3,000 Italian towns and cities. In some form or other American educational information was disseminated through 16,000 towns and cities of Italy by this department alone.

#### SPEAKERS.

[Under the direction of Prof. Rudolph Altrocchi and Kingsley Moses.]

Through the hospitality of official and private institutions of Italy and the American Young Men's Christian Association, speakers, representing the committee, came in contact with all "classes" in the Italian peninsula and Sicily. These orators carried America's message of hope and strength to the Italian people and had large and enthusiastic audiences everywhere.

The names appearing on the committee's list of speakers in Italy include Dr. Rudolph Altrocchi, Chicago University; Congressman Capt. La Guardia; Senator Cotillo, New York State Legislature; Judge Ben Lindsey; Arthur Bennington; Agostino d'Isernia; Dr. Prof. Satorio; Dr. Prof. Penunzio; Signor Poggiolini; Judge Cravates, United States judge at Cairo; and the 13-year-old Alberto Gelpi. Besides, Professoressa Gugliesmina Ronconi, a prominent Italian social worker, and her several associates were attached to this department. These concerned themselves with the women workers, peasant women, and school children, holding frequent morale and educational conferences or discussions for them in popular halls, workshops, and farm centers.

Whenever possible, American moving pictures or lantern slides were used to illustrate all these discourses.

#### MOVING PICTURES.

Lieut. Walter Wanger, E. Q. Cordner, and Herbert Hoagland built the machinery for handling American war, industrial, and agricultural films. These films were selected and forwarded to the bureau at Rome by the committee's office at either Paris or New York and were subsequently given Italian titles and prepared for "popular consumption" in Italy by this department.

The perfected films were shown to both military and civilian populations, at the front and behind the lines. In its exhibitions this department employed both private and public agencies, such as Italian cinema houses, patriotic associations, schools, Italian offices of naval and military propaganda, the American Young Men's Christian Association, etc.

Once a week this department supplied the Inter-Allied Weekly, a war-time Pathe of the Italian Government, with appropriate film material for display in theaters throughout Italy.

#### CONCLUSION.

Fortnightly or monthly reports, detailing the variety and extent of the activities of the committee's representatives in Italy are gathered in the official archives of the Committee on Public Information at Washington.

Exhibits evidencing the committee's operations in Italy are also on file at Washington. These include newspaper and magazine clippings from the Italian press and periodicals, testimonial letters from Italian official and unofficial sources, a statistical map and specimens of the post card, pamphlet, and picture material, distributed by the committee's bureau in Italy.

The clippings and testimonial letters alone adequately demonstrate that the committee's educational appeal not only reached the Italian masses but psychologically did much toward steadyng and heartening them through a critical period of the world war.

JOHN H. HEARLEY,  
*Commissioner of Italy.*

#### WORK IN SPAIN.

(By FRANK J. MARION, Commissioner.)

I left Washington for Spain via Habana on November 17, having with me the following letter of confirmation and instructions from the President:

14 NOVEMBER, 1917.

MY DEAR MR. MARION: Mr. Creel informs me that you are leaving for Spain and Italy at once for the purpose of making arrangements.

for such distribution of motion pictures as will acquaint these countries with the life of America, our aims and our ideals.

It is a distinct service that you are privileged to render to your country and the whole democratic movement, and I know that this will serve at once as reward and inspiration. Please bear in mind always that we want nothing for ourselves, and that this very unselfishness carries with it an obligation of open dealing. Guard against any effect of officious intrusion, and try to express a disinterested friendship that is our sole impulse.

Cordially and sincerely,

(Signed) WOODROW WILSON.

It will be noted that originally the scope of my work was limited to the distribution of motion pictures. Under instructions, and with the utmost leeway allowed to my own judgment, it expanded to embrace many other educational methods. In the beginning, the Madrid office of the committee was established in that of the American naval attaché, Capt. (now Rear Admiral) Burton C. Decker, who, from the first cooperated with me most cordially, and who gave great assistance and unstinted support. As I had brought with me a considerable stock of moving-picture films, showing the industrial and agricultural resources of the United States, together with views of the early work of training our new Army, I was prepared to start as quickly as the films could be titled in Spanish. I attended several conferences with representatives of the English, French, and Italian Embassies who were engaged in a similar work and quickly found that their efforts had the appearance of being handicapped by its "official" character. Spain, being a neutral country, and most jealous of its neutrality, was naturally unwilling to countenance anything to which the German Embassy might object, and at the time of my arrival the German Embassy was by far the most active and aggressive in Spain, with 70,000 German citizens well organized in the territory and with apparently unlimited funds at its disposal. The only moving pictures which our Allies had available were of a military character—scenes at the front, etc.—and as they were not permitted to be shown in public by the Spanish censorship, they were limited to private exhibition, hence to a very small audience, composed presumably of persons already predisposed to the allied cause.

I therefore determined to get the American films into the regular moving-picture theaters, and because of the "unofficial" character of my mission I was able to get the entire stock passed by the Spanish censors and shown throughout Spain in the regular programs of the distributing house of Ledesma & Villeseca, the immediate work of supervision being handled by Jose M. Gay, an American attorney of Filipino parentage, whom I had engaged as secretary and who gave me the most faithful and efficient service during the committee's operations in Spain. From the theaters we expanded to the schools and colleges and finally to open-air shows when the weather permitted. In the latter we showed to as high as 9,000 people in one audience and the Spanish press was unanimous and enthusiastic in its praise. Particular success was made by a series of pictures furnished for the purpose without charge by the Ford Automobile Co., of Detroit.

One of the most gratifying features of the work with moving pictures in Spain was that there was no expense to the distribution, except the titling in Spanish. Many of the prints were originally donated by patriotic American manufacturers, and the expense of circulation was covered by a small fee charged for the exhibition. From time to time new subjects were added to the stock. At the close of the work in February, 1919, I was fortunate in being able to sell the entire stock of films used in Spain, and those of the Italian office as well, to the Foyers de Soldats, of France, for a price which almost covered the cost of stock and printing.

Early in February, 1918, I proceeded to Italy to inaugurate the work there. Upon the arrival of Capt. Merriam, appointed commissioner for Italy, I received instructions to return to Madrid to act as commissioner for Spain, with full authority to launch a complete campaign.

Back in Madrid I opened separate offices at Zurbano 14, engaged a small staff of translators and office assistants, and decided to supplement our films with a press service. At first this task seemed fated to failure. Most of the leading papers in Spain were under regular subsidy from the German Embassy, and I was told by my French colleagues that space could not be secured in the Spanish press without paying for it at a price per line. A very large sum was

suggested as necessary to carry out the plan. However, I was convinced that truthful news items from America would be welcomed by all the progressive papers and that the system then in vogue of sending out "official" communiques from the various embassies could only naturally result in the material being treated as advertising. I arranged with the Fabra press service to handle a daily service of American news, and it was soon apparent that my surmise was correct. Within a short time the papers of Madrid, including all those subsidized by the enemy, were carrying our service and not a cent of subsidy was paid to any Spanish paper by the committee during my tenure of office. However, the Fabra Agency was not furnishing the service to the smaller papers of the Provinces which could not afford to pay the telegraph tolls, because of the high cost of print paper and the scarcity of advertising.

Accordingly, with the aid of the naval attaché, who placed his various secret agents throughout Spain at my disposal, I organized my own distributing system and within a short time had the satisfaction of seeing the entire press of Spain printing more news from America than from the allied countries combined.

Following the establishment of the Foreign Press Bureau of the committee in New York my office commenced to receive regular weekly installments of special articles, photographs, posters, window display cards, etc. This material necessitated further expansion. The special articles, prepared with rare good judgment by Mr. Ernest Poole and his associates, were placed in the hands of leading literary men of Spain, and reappeared over the Spanish names in the best daily and weekly publications. My chief translator, Señor Jose Armas, for many years correspondent of the New York Herald, and Señorita Raquel Alonzo, formerly of the Gulick School for Girls, performed prodigies of labor and could always be relied upon to give not only accurate translations, but translations of a high literary style. Miss Irene Wright was for a time typist and office manager, but resigned in July, 1918, and was succeeded by Mr. Seward B. Collins, who, being physically unfitted for military duty, joined my staff as a volunteer without pay.

In the summer of 1918 the work was expanded to full force. A lecture course on American ideals was inaugurated with Prof. M. Romera-Navarro, of the University of Pennsylvania, in charge. Although interrupted for a long time by the influenza epidemic, Prof. Romera-Navarro delivered lectures before universities and lyceums in most of the principal cities of Spain and was everywhere well received.

An exhibit of an edition de luxe of the war drawings of Joseph Pennell was started in San Sebastian in July, 1918, under the patronage of Sorolla, the great Spanish painter, and from San Sebastian went to most of the leading cities of northern Spain.

In our window display work we had the invaluable assistance of the Singer Sewing Machine Co., whose manager for Spain, Mr. Adcock, placed at the disposal of the committee the windows of 200 branch stores in Spain and without charge to us undertook the distribution and exhibition of a great mass of window display material. The windows of the Eastman Kodak Co. and the Aeolian Co. in Madrid, and the entire store of the American Machinery Corporation in Barcelona were in constant use for the display of educational material. Photographs mounted in handsome frames were extensively used and deemed very effective.

In July, 1918, we started the publication of a weekly bulletin in English, the American News, which was distributed free of charge to all Americans whose names we could secure in Spain and Portugal. The purpose of this bulletin, in the form of a small eight-page newspaper, was to put the facts of our war preparations and achievements into the hands of Americans to be disseminated by them in their contact with the Spanish people. The editor of this paper was Seward B. Collins. The value of this publication may perhaps be attested by the following quotation from a letter to your representative from Hon. Thomas H. Birch, American minister to Portugal:

We receive regularly the copies of the American News and put them to good use, many thanks for your kindness to this legation, anything worth while we will wire promptly. I think it is a fine idea the publishing of the American News, some items we do not get by wireless, so I change the date and use them here as well.

While attending the propaganda conference in Paris I became convinced that the strongest arguments in behalf of the allied cause were embodied in the various official utterances of President Wilson, and in following that conviction, the Madrid office of your committee used every effort to give the widest possible publicity to all of the President's speeches. Not only were they published immediately in the Spanish press, but they were printed in pamphlet form as well and sent under letter postage to upward of 10,000 prominent Spaniards. It was a matter of great gratification to us that so accurate and elegant in its diction was our translation by Prof. Romera-Navarro of the President's famous "Fourteen Points" speech that it was adopted as a literary textbook by one of the leading schools for boys in Madrid. In the distribution of this and other material we were greatly assisted by Senor Amato, of the Fabra Press Agency. As a general proposition, pamphleteering had been overdone in Spain by both the Allies and the enemy embassies and we did not deem it advisable to enter to any great extent into this branch of work. Furthermore it was the experience of the Madrid office that Spanish translations made in America were almost worthless because of mistakes in idiom.

The enemy propaganda which we had to combat during the early period of our work in Spain consisted largely of slurs and ridicule directed against our preparations and the probability of our taking any efficient part in the war. These were printed in the subsidized press, but were so worded that anyone who read could hardly fail to realize immediately that the material originated in Prince Rathbor's embassy. Although the greatest pressure was put upon me from various sources to answer these absurd misstatements, I was convinced that no good would come from controversial arguments with the enemy. My policy was therefore to either ignore them or to answer in some indirect way. For example, when the enemy put out the charge that our Army was irreligious, controlled by the Masonic order and that Roman Catholic chaplains were not allowed to wear their vestments, my answer was to secure a large photograph of a Roman Catholic mass in the open air in one of our camps and to publish it in some of the leading illus-

trated weeklies, as well as to include it in our window displays.

Finally, I may say that one of the most effective methods of conducting such an educational campaign is by word of mouth. In this work, all Americans in Spain loyally assisted, but particular service was rendered by the gentlemen of the American Chamber of Commerce of Barcelona, headed by Messrs. Brewer, Van Tress, and Preston M. Smith, all of whom could be relied upon to do any work that seemed necessary in their territory. And above all, the most effective argument was the work of our Army and Navy. As our campaign progressed and a delegation of Spanish newspaper men, under the leadership of the Marquis Valleglesias, of *La Epoca*, returned from our front in France with the word that we had hardly told the story of our strength and efficiency, the pro-German tendency of Spain began to perceptibly fade, and when Spain sent its peremptory note to Germany regarding the sinking of Spanish merchant ships we felt that the climax of our efforts had been reached. Two quotations may be given as evidence of the value of the committee's work in Spain. On October 23, 1918, the Madrid correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor* says:

A development of the popular attitude that has been most marked in recent months, and has become a significant feature of Spanish inclination, has been a sincere, anxious, and deep interest that Spain has begun to take in all that concerns the United States and especially on her productive and industrial side. \* \* \* Demonstrations by cinema pictures and in other ways of how things are done in America have been greatly appreciated. So have the object lessons of what the Americans have been doing in the way of metamorphosis in France in various directions. An indication of the new state of interest that Spain feels in regard to American institutions, systems, and so forth, is furnished by the long articles that continually appear about them in some of the daily newspapers, especially in the newer journals. Lectures on similar subjects are increasingly popular, and multitudinous papers have been read before the members of literary and scientific institutions concerning different aspects of American development.

In this connection it is of special interest to point out that at the present time Señor Miguel-Navarro, professor of Spanish language and literature at the University of Pennsylvania, is in the country and has been delivering some pointed discourses which have received

close attention and have been reported in detail in the newspapers. At Vigo, addressing a large gathering in the Escuela de Artes y Oficios, the professor has just made a notable statement on the manner in which Spain was regarded abroad, and the intellectual and sentimental relations between her and the United States.

He said that in his journeys in other foreign countries he had observed great hostility toward Spain, because foreign peoples had interpreted her history incorrectly and spoken badly of her because they did not know her. But in North America and especially in the Southern States, he had found quite a romantic feeling of attachment for Spain, due probably to the deep tracks that the Spanish work of civilization long ago had made in that part of the country, and where the work of their writers and savante and artists who had been there had served to intensify that affection.

And on December 11, 1918, the Monitor said:

What may be called the Wilson cult is truly making astonishing progress in Spain, as shall be shown. Three months ago the President of the United States was known but little to the general community. To-day there is hardly a city of any consequence in Spain whose newspapers are not devoting innumerable columns to articles upon his career, his views in general, and his present actions, with occasional personal details.

I take the liberty of attaching a summarizing report in the form of a letter from Capt. (now Rear Admiral) Burton C. Decker. Finally, may I be permitted to add that in recognition of the work of the committee in Spain your representative was honored by being elected to membership in the Royal Academy of Arts and Science of Spain, of the Columbian Society of Spain, and to the Centro Cultural Hispano-Americana, of which he was named the American delegate.

FRANK J. MARION,  
*Commissioner for Spain.*

#### WORK IN DENMARK.

(By EDWARD V. RIIS, Commissioner.)

When I arrived in Denmark I found great need of propaganda work. There was nothing like an adequate conception of America's motives, the goal we sought to attain, what we were capable of doing under pressure of great necessity and what our participation and final triumph would mean to the small nations of Europe. When our work ceased, Denmark

understood us as never before. Our educational work had been carried into every nook and corner of the kingdom. The spirit of America had been photographed for the Danes by word of mouth, by written article, and by picture so that they saw us clearly and comprehended us. I found them looking through glasses darkly. We left them with a new vision of our people, our activities, and the lofty principles which governed us.

Our material was published in every publication of any importance in the land. We had our pictures displayed in towns which had never seen American war pictures. We won powerful newspapers to our side; we made people our lasting friends, for we taught them that our fight was for Denmark, as well as ourselves; that we had no ax to grind; that we sought neither gain of land nor gold; that we strove to attain only world peace, universal justice, and the binder of universal brotherhood the world over.

Americans must not forget the delicacy of Denmark's position and the geographical considerations that made her absolutely helpless. When Denmark lost Schleswig and the Kiel Canal was built, there disappeared the last hope of successfully defending Copenhagen from an attack by the Germans. The taking of Schleswig and the building of the canal was really the first step for the big war. A fleet of air ships sailing from Warnemunde, the German Baltic port, could lay Copenhagen in ruins in five hours. German big guns could easily bombard Copenhagen from the Baltic. They could also sweep the peninsula of Jutland from one side to the other. Therein was the secret of the Danish fear.

Allied press representatives were informed more than once, before I came, that the papers could not afford to lean too much to one side or the other in publishing propaganda. Our task required delicate handling, and I was fortunate in securing the services of Mr. Bente, a trained journalist, who knew the likes and dislikes, the habits and the preferences of the Danish newspapers as very few know them.

From the very first we adopted the principle of laying all our cards on the table. I was open in telling those whom I wished to have help me just what I had come to Denmark for. I am convinced that had any other course been adopted we would have failed.

From a small beginning in the Hotel Phoenix, where I started with first two and then three and four employees, the work extended until I had seven persons on my staff, three translators, a stenographer, a man to read the newspapers daily, my assistant director, and my bookkeeper and confidential man. My translators were picked with the greatest of care, and I eliminated those whom I found could not fill the bill, until we had a staff who could translate perfectly and, moreover, could write good journalistic Danish, a matter of the highest importance. So far as the publication of material is concerned the following figures will show you how our work grew:

In September we sent over 217 clippings of our own material; in October the number of our clippings had increased to 224; in November we sent over 591; in December, a month with a week of holidays and when in addition I had four of my staff in bed with influenza, 420; in January no less than 606.

One article in particular—President Wilson's statement that justice would be done in the matter of Schleswig—was published in more than 100 newspapers, including 3 newspapers in territory held by the Germans, such as the Flensburg Avis. So far as I know no other allied power had succeeded in getting propaganda material published in newspapers in territory held by the Germans.

Furthermore, when I left we were beginning to get our material into the newspapers of Germany. We had an article on the German school system—a criticism of the German school system—published in the Hamburger Ekko. We had letters from German newspapers, such as the Hamburger Fremdenblatt, asking us for material. The article published in the Ekko was written by Dr. Maximilian Grossman, of the committee, and was attributed to us. Letters from Germany appealing for our material were beginning to come in just as I left.

We did not feed the Danes cut-and-dried propaganda. We carefully selected those articles which we knew the Danish publications would be eager for. In this I had the invaluable aid of Mr. Herman Bente, my assistant director, who knew the likes and dislikes of the Danish press all through

the land. We did not put out our stuff as propaganda. We let the Danish editors know that we were running a straight news bureau—that we had news of interest about America and what was going on behind the scenes there. We did not urge it on them. They could take it or leave it, as they chose. They took it and called for more. At first we went to them. Then they came to us. We put the breath of life in dry material. We put an American journalistic punch in it. We aimed to tell the story of the pictures in short, crisp sentences so that they would hit the reader between the eyes. If the Danes were told, for example, that we were producing so many thousands of tons of ammunition, they could not grasp the picture. But if they were made to understand that this ammunition, if piled, would make a mountain as high as one of the highest buildings in the land, they got the picture.

When we were sending over 300,000 troops a month I figured out how many men that would mean departing from our shores every minute and wrote a short story stating that every minute so many men were going out from the States to serve under the flag. There was need of this. The Germans had said that we were not able to send an army. They said that such troops as we had were ill-equipped. We were able to convince the Danes to the contrary.

I wrote many articles. When the great American offensive at St. Mihiel began we received, just in time, a picture of Pershing, but no written matter with it. The people of Denmark were unable to visualize Pershing. What manner of man was he? What was his previous military experience? What had he done that he had earned the right to lead the American Armies? I had brought along with me some material, and I went out and scoured the entire city until I found some more. Then I sat down and wrote a column story which appeared, along with the picture, on the first page of the second largest newspaper in Denmark, Berlingske Tidende, the time of the publication fitting in with the beginning of the offensive.

When I found, on first coming, that nobody knew just what was going on behind the scenes at home I sat down and wrote an article telling what I had seen of the strength and power of our war preparations, letting them know that we

did not want this war, but when we found that it had to be fought we became one great workshop in which all the people were working unitedly to end the war as quickly and as effectively as possible. When I found that the Danes had only an imperfect idea of President Wilson, how he rose to fame, what he meant in the life of the people, how he was trying to interpret the spirit of his country, just what he stood for and what he strove to attain, I wrote a three-column story, "Wilson, Hope of the World," in which I endeavored properly to interpret him and his principles. Along with it I tried to mirror the spirit of my people. That story was favorably commented on all over Denmark. It was not only printed in one of the largest of the Copenhagen newspapers, Berlingske Tidende, but ran the rounds of the provincial press. It was published in four provincial papers, four of the leading papers, and among others in the leading newspaper of Ribe, 3 miles from the German border. That was just where I wanted to get it.

The Danes were interested in everything American. I found that it was good propaganda work to write upon American subjects not directly connected with the war. I wrote an article about American journalism; I wrote an article about Col. Roosevelt and the manner of man he was, after we had received news of his death; I wrote an article about the development of our shipping under the guiding genius of Charles M. Schwab, and that article was published instead of a leader on the editorial page of another Copenhagen newspaper; I likewise wrote a descriptive story telling how the news of the signing of the armistice was received in New York. These articles proved popular and the Copenhagen editors frequently asked me to write other articles.

I made several speeches in Copenhagen and in the Provinces after they had asked me to do so. I delivered one at a large concentration camp for soldiers at Sandholm. I was asked to, and did, deliver one in the auditorium of the chief Copenhagen newspaper, Politiken, just before I left.

I made myself a personal friend of the editors. I called on some of them almost daily. I went to the Provinces and to the editors there I explained what we were trying to do. These calls were followed by an encouraging result in the greater use of our material.

We kept careful track of what the newspapers were saying, either to our detriment or to our credit. When they said anything which was incorrect, and we knew it to be incorrect, we went after them. When one newspaper which had been printing erroneous reports about us wrote vicious sub-heads on a news article dealing with an address delivered by the President and referred to him as the "Trustland's President," I called them to account, and the second editor came to my office and apologized. He did more. A two-column article was written praising our work. The newspaper swung over so that it took with eagerness articles sent out by us, attributing them to our committee. This newspaper published two columns of Justice Clark's important decision on the eight-hour law and credited it to our committee. The story went the rounds of the Social Democratic papers.

Every magazine of any prominence using pictures published ours. We had more pictures in the magazines than any of the other allied bureaus were able to show. Sometimes half a dozen such pictures would appear in an issue of a single magazine having a circulation of 200,000. Many hundreds of pictures were sent out by us through the Pressens Illustrations Bureau, which serves between 200 and 300 publications in Scandinavia, and this material, sent out in Copenhagen, was published in Norway as well.

Copenhagen was filled with our pictures. They were posted in places conveniently located. The Germans afterwards followed us up and put up pictures where we did. We put them up on side streets where pictures had not been shown before and in outlying districts. We sent them to provincial towns, such as Aarhus, Esbjerg, Ribe, Kallundborg, Roskilde, and other places. We grouped them so that people could see the gradual development of small-arms manufacture, of the progress of the Browning machine gun, of the flying machine, and we put red-lettered captions and stories under them which conveyed a ready lesson to the man in the street. These pictures were viewed daily by thousands.

The same may be said of the cuts we received and of the display posters.

We gave pictures to the British Legation to be used in their illustrated booklets and to lecturers. We even paid for lantern slides for such men as Winding, one of the prominent journalists of the staff of Politiken, who had been a correspondent at the front and who afterwards delivered lectures telling what American troops were doing in the war, what they were like, and the spirit which actuated them.

We furnished school teachers with printed material in the shape of articles or pamphlets, likewise writers. We sent a volume of President Wilson's messages to a large publishing house which got them out in Danish.

We took up the Schleswig question at a time when scores of persons came to see me to ask that the United States help to adjust the Schleswig problem on a basis of justice to the Danes, and I sent home cables, articles, and pamphlets dealing exhaustively with the entire Schleswig question. I wrote home about it, and even sent a letter to the President, pointing out that the people of the small neutral nation which had suffered so grievously looked to him in the wistful hope that he would right an ancient wrong and strike off the shackles of the Danes in Schleswig who for 50 long years had felt the tyranny and oppression of Prussian rule. I talked among others to Mr. Hansen-Norremølle, the Danish representative from that district in the German Reichstag, who came to my office to see me, and I wrote and cabled home what he told me about the Schleswig question.

I sent a daily cable informing the committee about conditions in Germany, Russia, and Denmark, as they came to my notice. I was able to cable home in early October that the Germans had suffered a severe blow to their morale, and sometime before the Kaiser's abdication I cabled that the people in Berlin were talking of the possibility. I also cabled how the German Army had been shot with Bolshevism by agents from Russia.

When Mr. Edgar Sisson's Bolshevik disclosures first reached Denmark by cable I got the complete text and, that night, I called a meeting of my staff and instructed them to go get out the entire text on our duplicating machine first thing in the morning. I invited the chief censor to sit in on

our talk. It was not necessary for us to get it out on the duplicating machine, for the newspapers were impressed with its extreme importance as news and the next day all the Danish newspapers gave it all the space that was possible. The Social-Demokraten, the strongest organ among the Socialists of Denmark, alone published eight columns of the revelations. The newspapers continued to publish the story for three days. Later we got rid of between 10,000 and 15,000 copies of the disclosures printed in pamphlet form, part in Danish and part in Russian. The Russians who were combating Bolshevism snapped them up eagerly.

We published three pamphlets in Denmark. One was by Booth Tarkington, dealing with our awakening; another was by Ernest Poole and described the spirit of the Army; a third was an appeal to the reason of the German people written by a Capt. Helwig, born in Germany, but an American serving as a captain in our Army.

The last-named pamphlet was published in German. It was distributed in the last months of the war. From one place alone we received reports that it had been given into the hands of about 300 Germans. Copies of that pamphlet were left at all hotels and restaurants frequented by Germans. We sent many into Germany.

The Germans had been unloading propaganda on Denmark for three years. The British and the French were on the ground long before we were. The Germans had a strong organization. It included a number of young authors who had been unsuccessful in having their works published. The Germans tempted them by telling them they would see their names in print and offered to get out, free, the books they wrote. In among these books they cleverly sandwiched others dealing with German propaganda. These books were issued from a large publishing house. Later the Germans added another and smaller publishing firm. They had a clientele of from 100,000 to 150,000. The Germans also tempted newspapers which were known to be in financial difficulties by offering them paying advertising contracts and a supply of printing paper at considerably less cost than they were able to get it from allied sources. This paper was to be delivered free at the plant. They also offered ink and printing machines.

The leader of the German propaganda was Louis vom Kohl, of an old Danish family and a clever author. He and his associates bought up a chain of eight Danish magazines, but none of the more influential ones fell into their clutches. The last they got hold of was a magazine circulating among seafaring men in which the propaganda was subtly concealed.

Denmark was tired of propaganda when I came and if we had attempted to put out material plainly tagged as such it would have gone into the wastebasket. I adopted a new line of endeavor. I went to the editors and told them frankly what we were aiming at. I hid nothing. I said we were conducting a news bureau. Before I did that I went to the chief censor, Mr. Marinus Yde (one of the fairest, ablest men I ever met), and was perfectly frank with him. I showed him our files and said he might come and look at our office at any time. We strove to, and we did, convince the people that we were there not so much to advertise our wares as to bring about a better relationship, a mutual understanding between our country and theirs as to the aims, objects, and purposes of each. Frankness on our part begot frankness on their part.

In pursuance of this I had a talk with the leading agricultural experts and sent home a careful and accurate report written by one of them detailing the exact situation in Denmark and what she could do to help the hungry if she obtained her requirements.

I suggested and helped to arrange the visit to our country of the 12 Scandinavian journalists. That visit did much to cement the friendly relations between ourselves, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. When they returned they wrote many admirable articles showing a ready understanding of our people and our spirit and correcting such impressions as that we were a dollar-chasing land engrossed merely in our own selfish considerations. Emil Marot, one of the Danes and a member of Parliament, gave, on his return, a series of 25 lectures in which he explained us to his people.

I have seen a change of feeling come over people who had not understood us before. I have seen a new understanding of President Wilson come into the minds of the Danes so

that they placed him on a plane beside their greatest national heroes. I have known them to cut out the photographs of him sent out by us, which appeared in Danish papers, and place them in a sort of family shrine. Yes, I have known the rough farmers to do that on the lonely heath lands. I know that the people of the small neutral nations of Europe, soulsick with war, yearning for an enduring peace, have looked to him in the hour of trial as the great deliverer, the Moses in a wilderness of trouble. They looked to him to lead them to the light, to lasting peace, to bind the nations in the great brotherhood of which so many millions dream. They believed in him and in us when I left.

EDWARD V. RIIS,  
*Commissioner for Denmark.*

SUMMARIES OF TYPICAL INTERVIEWS GIVEN BY MR. RIIS.

Hovedstaden, August 18; headline, "Denmark and America": The name of Jacob Riis is very popular in Denmark. Who has not enjoyed reading the story of the boy from Ribe, who lived to be called New York's most useful citizen by an American President? The son of this man is sure to be welcome in Denmark.

In interview Riis says that it is wrong that the United States should not have the friendliest feelings for Denmark. On the contrary, America wishes to strengthen the tie of friendship and considers it important that Danes should understand why America went to war. The United States not in war to crush German nation, but German militarism, so the world will be more fit for our children to live in. America thanks Denmark and Scandinavia for what their sons have done in the war. Two hundred thousand are in the Army and Navy and the Scandinavians have contributed liberally to war loans, the Red Cross, etc. Proud that two Scandinavians are among the 22 first American soldiers to receive the highest military American war decoration. Danish league formed in the United States to promote better understanding of war. Asked if Roosevelt is his friend, like he was his father's friend, Riis answers yes and tells of the ex-President's sons in war. Says the United States now has one and quarter million soldiers in France and next summer will have four million men over there, and Gen. March promises that with these troops he will be able to go through the German lines at any time. We don't believe, we *know* that we shall win. The will to victory is strong and still growing in America. We feel this is the most unselfish war the United States ever participated in; more unselfish even than the war of 1776, but we are fighting for the same principles—life, happiness, and liberty, and for justice and humanity. We do not need to hide our purposes. There is nothing to hide. Presi-

dent Wilson is to-day placed alongside of Washington and Lincoln by the American people, who have confidence in his leadership and will follow him everywhere, because his diplomatic wisdom shews he is the greatest man of his time.

Questioned if America not satisfied with Denmark's neutral attitude, Riis says nobody wishes to drag Denmark into the war, but wants it to be neutral. He concludes with words of appreciation because his father's name is honored in Denmark and thanks for the welcome he himself has received.

Dagens Nyheder, August 16; headline, "America and the World War—United States and Denmark—Jacob A. Riis's Son Tells Dagens Nyheder About Holy War":

After introductory remarks about Jacob A. Riis, Edward Riis says in interview it was impression in the United States that you in Denmark needed better information from America and about the Americans in war. To this end I have been sent here by the Committee on Public Information. There is nothing secret or underhanded in my mission. You can read my instructions here. I am no spy, but a man whose purpose is to get Danes and Americans to understand each other better. There is nothing but friendly feelings for Denmark in America, and there has been no change in this during the war. They think here that we have been unduly strict in our embargo policy, but you must understand that we are in a struggle which for us means all and it can not be helped that also the small nations feel that. We did not go to war because we wanted war. When President Wilson was reelected the Nation was not for war, but the feeling changed because of Germany's aggressive methods on the high seas and in regard to our munition plants and factories in the United States. We saw that we could not keep our self-respect and our liberty, and not the world's respect either, if we did not go to war; not to crush Germany or to obtain material advantages, but to secure for the world's peoples liberty and peace for the future. It is German autocracy, not the German people, we are fighting, and we will not stop until the war is won. There are now a million and a half American soldiers in France. Next Christmas there will be two millions. In a year, four or five millions and, if necessary, we will send ten or fifteen millions over there. Strangers think it remarkable that we, of our people, composed of so many elements, have been able to create such a unity. It surprised even ourselves. It was a miracle. I have seen regiments after regiments of men of different nationalities, all united in one and the same will, all inspired by the same idea, the fight for freedom, for the people's liberty, for democracy. It has become a religion for Americans. The war is for them a holy war. The struggle is between the old feudalism, autocratic rule, and the people's right to self-determination. All American preparations are for five years' war, but I believe the war will be over long before that.

## WORK IN RUSSIA—GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

[By EDGAR SISSON, General Director of Foreign Section, Committee on Public Information.]

The work of the Committee on Public Information in Russia and Siberia was the most arduous of the accomplishments of the organization, owing to the difficulties of Russia's immense area, as well as those of revolution.

Time will continue to show the importance of the whole achievement.

The chief credit goes to Arthur Bullard, who gave more than a year and a half of his time to the directorship of the committee's Russian enterprise, making sacrifices of every kind, including health.

The report that follows is set forth in sections, beginning with the account of installation, and continuing with the record of the succeeding work in Russia proper, and of the building up of the great plant in Siberia.

A few weeks after my own departure from Russia in the spring of 1918, it became definitely clear to me that the purpose of the Germans and of the Russian Bolsheviks was to bring about an untenable situation in Russia for all officials and citizens of Entente countries. The purpose was to limit their freedom and their activities more and more, and finally to expel them. It was my hope that all countries would see this and get their nationals out of Russia before they should be thrown out humiliatingly. But at that time the international political world could not believe that this outcome was inevitable.

I was sure, however, that within a few weeks it would be impossible to get material into European Russia. Accordingly, I took the responsibility of ordering Mr. Bullard and his American group, save one man, to remove themselves from the Bolshevik area of Russia.

Our chief office at Moscow, and even the office at Petrograd, remained open, the former in charge of Read Lewis, whose report is included, and the latter in charge of a Russian assistant. The Moscow office was finally raided and closed by the Bolsheviks the first week in September, 1918.

It was necessary to shift the organization as a whole to a place where it could have a dependable base of supplies.

Obviously, this place was Siberia, affording the opportunity for a sound and steady penetration along the line of the Siberian railroad as fast as order was restored along this railroad line. The eventual goal would be Moscow.

This whole project of transfer was successfully carried out. Two men, Malcolm Davis and William Adams Brown, worked their way out through Siberia, and in the early summer had opened new offices at Harbin and Vladivostok.

Meantime, Mr. Bullard, accompanied by Messrs. Bakerman, Glaman, and Taylor, secured passage from Archangel to Halifax and about July 1 reached the United States. This nucleus was at once equipped for the remainder of the journey around the world. The additional staff included translators, teachers, moving-picture experts, and office helpers. Seven hundred and fifty thousand feet of the best moving-picture film was sent, together with powered projecting machines. Four weeks after he set foot on American soil, Mr. Bullard was sailing with the first contingent from a Pacific port.

Mr. Malcolm Davis' report (included) tells the story of the Siberian expedition.

When my forecast of the spring was proved by the forced flight of all allied nationalities from European Russia in the late summer, Read Lewis, of the Moscow office, on reaching safety in Sweden was at once ordered to go to Archangel and open an office there.

Mr. Harry Inman was also sent direct from New York to Archangel with moving-picture film.

Both Read Lewis and Harry Inman did notable service there throughout the winter of 1918 and 1919.

From Paris the first Sunday in February, 1919, I cabled around the world demobilization orders for all offices of the committee, except those of New York, London, and Paris. The offices demobilized by that order were Copenhagen, Stockholm, The Hague, Berne, Prague, Rome, Madrid, Buenos Aires, Santiago, Lima, Colon, Mexico City, Peking, Vladivostok, Harbin, Irkutsk, Omsk, and Archangel.

To the Siberian and Russian offices the chief leeway in time was granted, but it was impossible to allow them to operate beyond March 15. The last members of the group did not reach the United States until late in June, 1919.

Here is the roster of the Russian-Siberian organization: Arthur Bullard, Guy Croswell Smith, Malcolm Davis, Read Lewis, George Bakeman, Otto Glaman, Graham Taylor, jr., Harry Inman, Boris Lebedeff, Dr. Joshua Rosett, Franklin Clarkin, Edwin Schoonmaker, Robert Winters, George Bothwell, Sid Evans, Prof. William Russell, William Adams Brown, jr., William Carnes, Lem A. Dever, Phil Norton, Dennis J. Haggerty, H. Y. Barnes, Edgar Sisson.

EDGAR SISSON.

#### WORK IN RUSSIA—THE INSTALLATION.

(With instructions to install the Committee on Public Information's service in Russia, Mr. Edgar G. Sisson left the United States on October 27, 1917, and arrived in Petrograd November 25. His report follows:)

The Bolshevik-Proletarian revolution had begun November 7, and the city was still under the closest Red Guard military control. I was told by the Americans on the scene that there was no possibility of any open governmental activity. This did not seem logical to me, but it necessitated a careful preliminary survey.

In a week's time I had convinced myself not only that it was possible to go ahead, but that the best way was to go ahead openly. This plan, however, required the use of the mechanical facilities wholly in the control of the Bolshevik Government—telegraph agencies, printing shops, and, to a lesser degree, distributing agencies.

As an example of the chaotic condition of affairs, the Bolsheviks had suppressed all the existing and opposing Bourgeois newspapers, leaving for the chief publications in Petrograd their official newspapers, the *Isvestia* and the *Pravda*. Such other newspapers as appeared were being obliged to change their names almost with each issue, so fast did the suppressions come.

When I left the United States our cable service was supposed to be ready to begin to feed into the Russian governmental distributing organization, the Petrograd Telegraph Agency, which in Russia corresponds to the Associated Press in the United States. The revolution, however, had broken the service. Efforts to replace it had been made by

the use of the wireless station at Lyon, France, the receiving station being at Moscow. The project failed because the Moscow station itself was almost immediately put out of commission. In Russia we would not have known of the effort had not a few sentences of one garbled message been picked up a few days before inefficient operators (or intent) finally wrecked the instruments at the station.

The first job, therefore, was to restore the cable service. This was done after an interchange of cables with Washington, and after finding that the Petrograd Telegraph Agency desired to have and would use the cables.

I called Arthur Bullard up from Moscow, where of his own initiative he had been acting as a volunteer in the consul's office in preparing a mail service for provincial papers, and made him the Director of the Russian News Division of the committee. I also commandeered Graham Taylor, jr., who had been engaged on work in the German prison camps in Russia until we went to war, and put him in charge of the Petrograd office. This was done in order to enable Mr. Bullard to return to Moscow and organize an office there.

We opened an office at 4 Gorokovaya for the receipt of cable messages, and put in a translating force. The messages, as soon as translated, were fed into Petrograd Telegraph Agency in Petrograd and theoretically were telegraphed all over Russia, as well as released to the Petrograd newspapers. Such was the disorganization of the telegraph lines, however, that in practice we found it at once necessary to install a courier service to Moscow, and to make the larger part of the national distribution from there. In both places we also released direct as exigencies required.

In Moscow each week we assembled the cable material in pamphlet form, added to it educational mail and article material and distributed the pamphlets to the provincial press, and to organizations where we deemed it useful.

We adopted for ourselves the Russian name, Amerikansky Bureau Pachata (the American Press Bureau), and attached a governmental symbol to indicate its official nature.

Both the British and the French did their publicity work as private organizations, and it was a matter of interest to

me that the head of the French department came to me before I left Petrograd and said that ours was the right way. The British organization, Cosmos, was raided and closed by the Bolsheviks the last week in December. The French never put out anything openly. We were not seriously interfered with throughout the winter.

The middle of December found our news organization in operation. One of the first impressions I had got of Petrograd was of its billboard possibilities. Every street, including the Nevsky, was papered up and down with placards and proclamations, mostly emanating from the Soviet. The first of President Wilson's Russian messages came in early December. As I feared, after reading it, the official newspapers refused to print it in full, and misused and misinterpreted such parts as they did print. Other papers also used it insufficiently, so I made up my mind to put it on the billboard. I was advised this would be regarded as a challenge by the Bolshevik Government, but this view did not appear reasonable to me. I went about the matter openly, gave the job of printing to the biggest Government printing establishment in Petrograd, a plant that would compare favorably with all but a very few in the United States, and negotiated with a billposter agency to put up the message. The bill-posting man was the only person to show any fear of the outcome, but he needed the business and decided to take a chance. He played "safety first," and hired soldiers to do the posting. The result was that 50,000 copies of the President's message were posted one morning throughout Petrograd without any hindrance whatever. This posting was followed by a street hand distribution of 300,000 copies—in the street cars, in the theaters, hotels, stores, and to the street crowds.

Similar plans were started in Moscow, but rioting broke out and prevented success. The third process of printing, the turning of the speech to pamphlet use, was done at Moscow.

The experience on this message enabled us to do the big job on the President's message of January 8 with its statement of terms of any possible peace. We had learned the machinery. The January 8 speech began to reach us January

10, but did not come complete until January 11. It was used in full in the *Isvestia*, the direct organ of the Soviets. This in itself gave a complete all-Russia circulation among the Soviets. There was liberal use of the message in nearly all of the newspapers.

The Petrograd posters were up January 13. The street distribution, again of 300,000, followed a few days later. The Moscow distribution was done almost simultaneously.

On this message German distribution was essential. One million copies were printed in German. Of this quantity 300,000 were put across the northern line into the German line, and 200,000 similarly at the central and the southern front. A half million went to German prison camps in Russia, for the reason that these prisoners were expected soon to return to Germany.

The German distribution was done by an organization of soldiers through the help of Jerome Davis, of the Young Men's Christian Association, who had used them for package distribution. The Young Men's Christian Association as a body had nothing to do with the work. This soldiers' organization was later made a part of our own machinery, and was used with high effectiveness in the distribution of German and Hungarian versions of President Wilson's speech of February 11. It worked along the line of the German advance into Russia, and fulfilled its instructions to scatter the messages in territory about to be occupied by the German Army. The head of this organization was B. Morgenstern.

The details of the distribution of the message of January 8 will show the general method:

*President Wilson's Message of January 8, 1918.*

**Petrograd:**

Russian posters printed, posted up along streets-----	100,000
Russian handbills printed-----	
Distributed to theaters, etc-----	300,000
To Davis-Morgenstern for Russian soldier line-----	600,000
German handbills printed-----	1,000,000
	2,000,000

From Petrograd:

Text telegraphed to—

Chita: Representative of International Harvester Co., from whom no word has come.

Omsk: Gray, of International Harvester Co., who reported that he was pushing distribution.

Ekaterinburg: Palmer, of International Harvester Co., who reported that local situation prevented an immediate start, but that now the work was progressing well to distribute 10,000 posters and 150,000 handbills-----

160,000

Kiev: To Jenkins, American consul; text in Ukrainian; letter from Jenkins said he planned to distribute 50,000.

American consul at Vladivostok reported that he received message by direct cable from United States.

Moscow:

Posters printed—

Pasted up along streets----- 45,000  
Pasted up in rooms of house committees----- 20,000  
Sent to Voronesch----- 1,000

Handbills printed—

Gonetz to theaters, etc----- 235,000  
Young Men's Christian Association----- 286,000  
To Voronesch----- 10,000  
To Lubertzi (International Harvester)----- 2,000  
To town in Tamboff----- 1,000  
Factories within 150 versts----- 300,000

Manufacturers' Association for its 30 branches in Russia ----- 18,000

All-Russian Trade and Industry Association for its 450 branches in Russia----- 45,000

To 700 cooperatives in Russia----- 150,000

To 2 individual soldiers who wanted them for their regiments----- 2,000

Muir and Mirriles----- 1,000

Committee of escaped prisoners-----

To Kharkoff----- 50,000

To houses throughout Moscow, distributed by the Society of Municipal Employees----- 125,000

Pamphlets printed, in bulletin No. 3----- 12,000

Total----- 3,463,000

From Moscow:

Text sent with order to print and distribute to—

American consul at Odessa.

American consul at Tiflis.

American consul at Kiev.

American consul at Rostov for—

Rostov.

Taganrog.

Novocherkassk, and district north of the Caucasus.

Had the Germans entered Petrograd in late February they would have been greeted by posters in German, both of the President's messages of January 8 and February 11. One hundred thousand copies of the former were run the middle of February to provide for this contingency.

In the last week in February we encountered our first definite Bolshevik stoppage. The colored cartoon poster, showing the arm of German force stabbing the people's hand, and tramping upon the people's banner of liberty, was confiscated on the press by order of the Bolshevik Government.

Why?

Smolny laughed at us when we asked it.

We asked in order to see whether Smolny would laugh.

The News Division moved into larger quarters on the Nevsky the last week in February, the week that saw the exit from Petrograd of the embassies, consulates, and the missions, including the American Embassy, the American consul, the American Military Mission, and the American Red Cross. The change had been planned for weeks earlier. We concluded to be found going ahead until we could go no farther. So large American flags were draped across the windows, and the division moved in.

The Film Division headquarters were on the Kazansky, half a block from the Nevsky, facing the cathedral. It was in charge of Guy Croswell Smith as director. The machine stood ready to receive new films by January 1. The failure of Hart, of the Young Men's Christian Association, to bring through a quarter of million feet of film intended for us kept us from saturating Russia with American films in the early winter. The second allotment of films given into the custody of Bernstein had reached Stockholm when the Fin-

nish Revolution of the last days of January closed the gates into Russia. No couriers came into Petrograd after February 1.

Smith and I found both the Hart and the Bernstein films still in Scandinavia in April.

With such films as he had—the Uncle Sam Immigrant film and the Presidential Procession in Washington—Smith did fine work. The Uncle Sam Immigrant film was put out with a camouflage title “All for Peace.” The finished title would have read “All for Peace Through War,” but we left it to the audiences to find that out for themselves. The biggest moving-picture theater in Petrograd ran both films, and they fed rapidly throughout the whole of Russia. We traced them from the Arctic Ocean to the Black Sea and far into Siberia.

I arranged for an option on a Petrograd theater, and the purpose was to lease similarly in Moscow and after a run for advertising purposes, to turn the films into trade channels, to add incentive to circulation. It is the method to use in Russia and, in general, nearly everywhere.

In my opinion, the best individual work done in Russia for the United States was that of Arthur Bullard in writing the pamphlet “Letters to a Russian Friend,” an interpretation of the highest order of America. We published it in Russian as a Red, White, and Blue book. Three hundred thousand copies were distributed.

The Moscow office continued the distribution of the January and February messages in the remote sections of Russia after March 1. The total distribution, including the Hungarian and German text, was more than four million. Three hundred thousand handbills containing both messages were distributed ahead of the German advance in Ukraine. The President’s Baltimore speech was printed in Irkutsk, Omsk, Samara, Petrograd, Moscow, and Ekaterinburg.

An American Bulletin was issued weekly. By issue No. 6, the Bulletin had reached a circulation of 40,000 in all parts of Russia. It went to all newspapers, zemstvos, schools, Soviets, commercial and manufacturing associations, and universities. It was also sent to 10,000 cooperative societies which form the backbone of the practical liberal element.

EDGAR SISSON.

## WORK IN RUSSIA—SUMMER OF 1918.

[Report of READ LEWIS.]

STOCKHOLM, September 24, 1918.

Mr. EDGAR G. SISSON,

*Director Division of Foreign Work,**Committee on Public Information, Washington, D. C.*

In accordance with your instructions, I returned from Archangel to Moscow June 30. From then until August 26, when I started for Stockholm, I had charge of the Compub work centering in Moscow and Petrograd. During these two months I was busy in building up and revitalizing the organization which we had left on May 4 and in extending the work. Despite the absence of American associates, our inability to communicate with the outside world, and the entire failure of news cables and publicity material to reach us, as well as the handicap of an acute political crisis threatening daily the future of the work, we were able to reach a steadily increasing public. After the consulate general on August 5 placed American interests under the protection of the Swedes, it seemed more than ever important to continue Compub as the only agency which remained to express President Wilson's affirmed policy of friendship and helpful cooperation with the Russian people. There was need for even more vigorous effort by us to offset the assiduous anti-American German propaganda, and to interpret in democratic fashion the Entente policy at Archangel and in Siberia. As long as the work was permitted by the Soviet Government, I believed it should be carried on. The possibility that Americans might be held as hostages seemed to me no reason for withdrawal. On the western front the chance that a soldier may be taken prisoner has never been a reason for keeping him from the fight. It was accordingly under protest that I left Moscow with the consulate staff. I left Moscow reluctantly, but with the hope that if the work could be continued I should receive authority to return. Following my arrival in Stockholm, however, I learned by cable through the Swedish consulate general at Moscow, as I have already cabled you, that on September 2, a week following my departure, the Soviet had closed our offices and that the work was being liquidated.

During July and August the principal work of the Russian Press Division was the publication and distribution of the American Bulletin. This 16-page pamphlet, designed for the general reading public, was issued weekly and distributed free of charge to a mailing list of 40,000 names. Its cost, including printing and paper, was 10 kopecks, or 1 cent, at a cost (according to the second-class mailing rates first obtained in August) of only 7 kopecks per month for each subscriber. The Bulletin contained the cable news dispatches, so long as they were received, and articles and paragraphs descriptive of the different phases of American life. The Bulletin mailing list included all newspapers and publications, 800 cooperative unions and their more than 10,000 constituent societies, thousands of schools and libraries, all the Soviet and Government institutions of the country, trade-unions, teachers' associations, the old *zemstvos*, commercial and manufacturing associations, many business houses and individuals. The building up of this mailing list was a matter of continuous and careful work. Our attempt was to reach not only the sources of public opinion but at least some part of the people themselves. Lists of their cooperative societies, representing in their membership the great substantial and forward-looking masses of the Russian people, had in response to our letters been sent us by the cooperative unions. In response to letters to the educational divisions of provincial and district governments we had secured lists of local schools, people's houses, libraries, etc. Every mail brought many letters from persons and organizations who had seen the Bulletin and asked to be placed on our mailing list. Not a day went by without at least one letter from a provincial Soviet, or one of its departments, expressing interest in our work, forwarding names of local organizations, and requesting sometimes as many as 50 copies of each issue for its use. Thus despite the territory impossible to reach on account of civil war, we were distributing 50,000 copies of each issue of the Bulletin.

In addition to the American Bulletin the bureau also issued during the summer a translation of "How the War Came to America," and a pamphlet collecting several of the speeches of President Wilson, principally those of January 8 on terms

of general peace, of February 11 replying to the Central Powers, and of April 7 at Baltimore. Of each of these two pamphlets 100,000 copies had been printed and were being distributed. We continued to print and distribute the very successful "Letters of an American Friend." Of this 400,000 copies had been printed and distributed and a new order was on the press. It is interesting to note that these letters were reprinted in full by one of the Astrakhan newspapers, and the inability to report similar instances may be due to the very few provincial papers it was possible to obtain. In the form of leaflets we issued and distributed 100,000 copies of both the President's Red Cross speech of May 18 in New York, and his speech of June 11 to the Mexican editors. To the earlier speeches more general distribution had already been given. Four million copies, indeed, of the speech of January 8 were distributed throughout the country and at the front. Copies of it for posting had been sent to all railroad stations in Russia. In default of a greater variety of literature for general distribution we printed of the last several issues of the Bulletin a second 50,000 for distribution outside of its regular mailing list. To pamphlets like "Letters of an American Friend" and the speeches of President Wilson, the bureau aimed to give a far more general distribution than to the weekly bulletin. Copies of such pamphlets were of course sent to the Bulletin mailing list. In addition the bureau maintained a staff of 11 couriers and messengers for the work of distribution. Two, for example, devoted their entire time to daily distribution at the railroad stations in Moscow; two more to distribution at the factories and cooperative societies in the Moscow district. A special effort was made to reach personally with our literature each of the many congresses and conferences held in Moscow (and even in some of the provincial cities) with their delegates from different parts of the country. To these meetings and conventions our messengers carried subscription lists and in this way were able to add to the Bulletin mailing list. The rest of our courier staff were employed in making regular trips to the Provinces. The complete breakdown of the transportation system in Russia made it essential, if we were consistently to reach the provincial cities and districts with our literature, that we should have our own system of dis-

tribution. The trips for our provincial messengers were carefully planned, each man being given a list of the organizations, factories, persons, etc., to which he was to distribute literature in the several cities which he was to visit. Nearly all men engaged in this department of our work were members of the Society of Escaped Prisoners; that is, they had been common soldiers in the Russian Army and subsequently prisoners in Germany, from which they had escaped. No little part of the success of the distribution work was due to their loyal interest in it and their ingenuity in dealing with the difficulties of transportation and the obstacles in the way of opposition from some local authority with which they had frequently to contend. The bureau was also arranging at important points on the Volga like Nizhnij-Novgorod and Saratov to have a regular employee who would distribute bits of literature on all boats stopping at the port.

Through its department of distribution the bureau had thus distributed, during the month from July 15 to August 15, 10,112 pieces of literature at congresses and conventions; 51,600 at railroad stations in Moscow; 55,951 at factories, to works' committees and trade-unions; 38,007 to cooperative societies and shops in Moscow and vicinity; and 167,950 in the Provinces by the bureau's couriers. This, in addition to a small miscellaneous distribution at the offices of the committee in Petrograd and Moscow and in addition to the distribution of the Bulletin by post, made the total distribution for the month 479,333.

It is obvious, of course, that if we could have supplied to and had published by the Russian newspapers the same or material equivalent to that which we ourselves printed and distributed, we should have employed a far more economical and extensive method of publication and distribution. The publication of our own pamphlets, and especially of our weekly paper, however, seemed essential, not only because of the utter demoralization of the Russian press, but as a concrete evidence and expression of America's policy of friendship and helpful cooperation with the Russian people. Following the assassination of Ambassador Mirbach early in July all of the bourgeois press were permanently closed, and until I left Moscow none but a few Bolshevik newspapers appeared. The same condition was true in the provincial

cities except for a few left S. R. papers. The editorial offices of these papers, particularly in Moscow and Petrograd, were definitely unfriendly to America.

The bureau, on the other hand, not only was without the American staff but entirely lacked the material which would have enabled it to furnish these Bolshevik papers with news and a special press service which, I am convinced, would in large part have overcome their hostility and intolerance. On the contrary we were cut off from communication and most of the material needful to counteract the anti-American German propaganda in the Russian press. Following the non-receipt of our own cable dispatches, much of the American news in the press showed unmistakable evidence of having been made in Germany. Most of it was cleverly selected in order at the same time to appeal to the particular sympathies and prejudices of the Bolsheviks and to discredit America. As an example of the chief American news items published widely throughout the country I may cite stories of Negroes hung in Iowa, a cage for cowards in Alabama, the sentence of Lochner, a reported scandal in the Quartermaster's Department of the Army over supplies and contracts, ammunition explosions in Syracuse, the persecution and judicial brutality exhibited toward Socialists and pacifists, the occupation of two towns in Panama by American troops, the story that the French were dissatisfied because one-half of the American troops in France were Negroes, a Socialist in Washington sentenced to 10 years because he had in his room a placard "Don't be a soldier, be a man," etc.

This shows the supreme importance of the communication to Russia by us of American news. But from early in July we were cut off from all cable and telegraphic communication with the outside world. The last Compub cable received was No. 10144, of July 2, describing the preparations for Independence Day. Subsequent Compub cables up to 10183 were dispatched but none of them except for 10155 were ever received. Although I tried to send you word of our situation, first through Archangel and later via Petrograd and Stockholm, I presume my cables never reached you. One indeed sent by neutral courier early in August has overtaken me in Stockholm. While we were thus without cable news,

we also lacked the necessary general material. Our latest American newspapers dated from December and January. Since the first 400 numbers of the Foreign Press Bureau's service we had received none of its material except for two installments early in July, one dating from December and the other the first week of April. These proved of great assistance but were speedily exhausted. After the Compub cables stopped the contents of the Bulletin was limited to general informative articles about America, its life and war activities, and to such news notes as I could get from the few English and French papers at hand. Nearly all of this material had to be personally prepared by me.

While our work with the newspapers was thus actually so limited, I was convinced of the supreme importance of establishing a special and exclusive service for the newspapers quite apart from the Bulletin, and to this end preparatory work was carried on. We had thus in practically all the 20-odd Governments with which it was possible to communicate secured a local correspondent. This was some person who was known to us or who had expressed his wish to help in the work and who as a result of correspondence seemed suitable. These agents were employed at nominal salaries. It was their duty to send us the names and addresses of all newspapers in their Government or district, to keep us informed of the local newspaper situation, to supply us with clippings showing the attitude of these papers toward America and their use of our material, and to send us names of local persons and institutions for the Bulletin mailing list. We thus tried to keep on hand ready for use an up-to-date list of Russian newspapers. If the cables had started to come through again it had been my intention to send them either by post or artel to each of these newspapers, forwarding them sufficiently in advance of their release in Moscow so that they would reach the provincial cities ahead of the Moscow papers publishing them. I planned also to send out semiweekly as soon as the necessary material could be accumulated to start the service, two or three galley sheets containing notes, articles and paragraphs and fillers suitable for reprinting by the newspapers.

Concerning the A, B, C book, the primary book which the committee had planned to issue and distribute as a gift from

American to Russian school children, 3,000 advance copies were printed. A meeting of educational experts representing the leading teachers and educational organizations was held under the bureau's auspices and a plan worked out for the most effective method of distribution. These advance copies were never sent out for two reasons. First, there was delay due to the necessity of obtaining the consent of the authors to the substitution of the old by the new spelling in the final edition, a change which was judged expedient in view of the attitude of the Government. In the second place as the cost of the A, B, C book would have been 120,000 rubles per 100,000 copies, I hesitated with limited funds at hand and the difficulties of communication and obtaining more funds, to use the money which might be needed for more general propaganda.

Up to the time of my departure from Moscow August 28, there had been no interference by the Soviet authorities with our work.<sup>1</sup> All publications had to be licensed by the commissar of the press, but all permissions for printing and distribution which we asked for, had been granted.

There was, however, in the face of the threatening attitude of the Entente in Siberia and Archangel toward the Soviet Government, indications that our work might be regarded as hostile propaganda. In the latter part of August various articles appeared in the Moscow press calling attention to the propaganda character of our work. There were also one or two fantastic tales published in a paper unmistakably German in its ownership suggesting that our employees were engaged in our offices in making bombs and explosives. The commissar of education had before my departure communicated with the university where we had our offices since April on the question of our removal and we had been trying to find and move to new quarters. The commissar's position that as the university was supported by Government funds the presence of the press bureau of a foreign Government was improper, although we had been invited by the university management, seemed an entirely correct one, and did not in itself, I believe, indicate any animus against us. In regard to the events immediately lead-

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<sup>1</sup> The office was raided and closed by the Bolsheviks Sept. 6.

ing up to the closing of our work by the Soviet and that event itself, I have received no information except that the work of liquidation has been moved from the university to our original offices opposite the consulate general.

When I left Moscow I placed Mr. Lebedev in charge of the work under instructions to continue it. In the event that the work should be stopped Mr. Lebedev was under instruction to retain such help as he required to complete and place our accounts in proper shape, to put our files in order, and to have our mailing list ready for future use, but to pay off all our other employees with two months' salary in advance in accordance with the Russian custom. I have since sent word to Mr. Lebedev that if possible he and two other of our Russian staff in Moscow should, if they could secure the necessary passports, proceed to Stockholm in order that they might join me in Archangel. It seemed likely that under present conditions I would otherwise be unable to obtain the experienced and competent Russian help in Archangel so essential to the success of our work. In regard to the Petrograd office I have sent instructions that it should be given up and our property stored in the embassy. During the summer the Petrograd office served only as a distributing point, with a staff limited to Mr. Younger and a couple of messengers. It was my wish to organize there a local distribution service similar to that which we had in Moscow, but the urgency of the political situation was such as to prevent me from going to Petrograd to accomplish it.

All through July and part of August while the Russian press was fuming at Anglo-French imperialists, never a word was said about America, although it was well known that we were also parties with England and France to the treaty with the Murmansk Soviet. The different attitude which the Russian newspapers and Government have taken toward America, as distinguished from the other Allies, has been due not only to what America is, but also, I believe, to our propaganda, and the efforts we have made to make America understood. It has been due to the fact that our propaganda was distinguished from that of the English and French, has aimed at reaching the broad masses of the Russian people. We have tried to make friends with the people

themselves. That we have at least in a small measure succeeded is attested by many letters of appreciation received from simple people, often from scarcely literate peasants and workingmen. I quote the following foreword to several pamphlets we were preparing to issue when I left Moscow, as showing the spirit not only in which I tried to carry on the work, but also in which I believe it must be carried on to be permanently successful.

This little pamphlet is printed and given to you by the Government of the United States of America. You may well ask why it should take the trouble to go halfway around the world to give it to you, a citizen of the new Russia.

The Government of the United States of America, which is only another word for the people of America, believe in democracy, in government by and for the great masses of the people. It believes that only when such government exists everywhere will its own democracy, and democracy throughout the world, be safe. So at a time when you are forming the institutions of the new Russia, it wishes to extend to you the hand of good-will, and to bear witness to its faith in democracy. It wants you to believe in democracy, in making and keeping democracy for Russia.

Probably you already do. Perhaps, further, you think that the Government and people of the United States, who are even now speaking to you, are undemocratic, imperialistic, and hostile to the ideals of equal opportunity, industrial democracy, and internationalism, which stir so much of Russia to-day. We see, indeed, the faults of our democracy, the many places where we have failed, but in our hearts we believe in those ideals, and we know that we are struggling toward them. Because we are fighting for them we believe that they are the most real thing about us.

Even now we are engaged in a great war, not one of enmity to any people, not to gain any material thing, but to bring nearer the realization of those ideals. We do not see how there can be any guarantee of political, let alone industrial, democracy, any lives of free and equal opportunity, any brotherhood of mankind in a world where one government seeks to dominate other nations and refuses to acknowledge the right of other peoples to self-determination.

But whether or not you agree with us about the war as a necessary step toward their realization, we want to work together with you for those ultimate ideals of equal opportunity for all, industrial democracy, and internationalism. How can we work together if we do not believe in each other's good faith? How can we trust each other if we do not know each other? So the purpose of the following pages is to tell you a little about ourselves—to show you that we are working with the same problems, striving toward the same goals as yourselves. The solidarity of mankind can be built not out of wishing, but only out of actual friendships. By helping to establish a common under-

standing between us we want to lay the basis for such a friendship and mutual helpfulness between the peoples of Russia and America—a friendship that will be one of the bulwarks of that future world of peace and liberty in which we both believe.

If you are interested in reading more about America than is contained in the following pages, in which we print some articles already published in the American Bulletin, please write to the Amerikansky Bureau Petchate and it will be glad to send you the future issues of the Bulletin and its other literature.

Respectfully, yours,

READ LEWIS.

### WORK IN RUSSIA—SIBERIAN ACTIVITIES.

[Report of MALCOLM DAVIS to ARTHUR BULLARD, Russian Director.]

#### INTRODUCTORY.

This report on the Siberian activities of the Russian Division of the Committee on Public Information must necessarily be a report on a work not developed to its full possibility because of the necessity of liquidation. The main work really began only in August and September, when the opening up of the Siberian railroad line by the Czecho-Slovaks made it possible to develop a campaign of public information in what had been Bolshevik Siberia. The orders for demobilization inevitably following the end of the war came in the middle of February, when the organization had been under way about six months and when it was just reaching full effectiveness in the telling distribution of its information material, and the results were just beginning to show.

All the staff recognized the inevitability of the ending of the work and understood the reasons for it; yet there was not a member of the organization who did not feel that it came at a most unfortunate time, considered from the point of view of Siberia and of Russian relationship generally. Other nations were developing energetic propaganda campaigns; and the American engineers were finally taking up the task of railroad reorganization and the American Red Cross extending its relief activities. These considerations, together with the fact that it was a critical time in the discussion of Russian-Allied relations, made the withdrawal of the American Information Bureau regrettable. That

this was not merely the feeling of men engaged in the work, but that it was a view shared by impartial representatives of the Government of the United States of America as well as by Russians and by representatives of some of the other Allies, is evidenced by the messages to Washington of Ambassador Morris, who was in Vladivostok on a special mission from Tokio, from Consul General Harris and all his consular staff, by the telegram of Motosada Zumoto, head of the Japanese Information Bureau, and by letters from Russians, all urging the continuance of the work, if possible.

#### REPORT ON SPRING CAMPAIGN IN 1918.

This next section will cover the period from arrival in Omsk, on the assignment given in Moscow in March, 1918, by the director, Arthur Bullard, to William Adams Brown, jr., and myself, to canvass the field for an American campaign of public information in Siberia and to begin the development of a Siberian Department, reporting later to Moscow. We were to visit Omsk, Krasnoyarsk, Irkutsk, Chita, Harbin, and Vladivostok, to find, if possible, suitable Russian representatives in each of the places where we stopped, who could be relied upon to receive telegraph news and printed literature, push the circulation of both in his district, and keep the central office informed upon conditions in his district affecting our work and upon needs for specially adapted material.

It is unnecessary now to go into the matter of the sentiment of the individual newspaper editors. It will suffice to say that we found the press under the strict control of the Bolshevik régime. No papers with a political color were being published in any town visited except the official Bolshevik organ and one or two others of the most radical Socialist revolutionary tendencies. In general, there was less freedom for the press in Siberia under the Bolshevik régime than in Petrograd and Moscow under the same régime. The separate peace had just been concluded between the German Government and the "Russian Federated Socialistic Soviet Republic."

We proceeded on the same policy which had won a measure of success in Moscow and Petrograd, since we were

under orders to attempt to continue publicity in Bolshevik Russia and Siberia. It had been decided not to attack Bolshevism or discuss political questions in Russia directly, and to get across as much information as possible about the principles of democratic government, the aims of America and the Allies, the war organization of America and the growing supremacy of the Allied arms, the actions of the German Government, in Russia and other occupied territories and spheres of influence, and as much general news and special article material as possible about political and social conditions and ideas in the United States. This work was regarded as tending to strengthen every sane democratic movement existing in the country, to give information that might serve as a basis for working out new problems of government in the country, and to create as much of friendly feeling and understanding as possible among the common people in Russia.

We met with varying attitudes on the part of the editors and of the leaders of the "Soviets" or "Councils" which were in charge of affairs everywhere. While frankly antagonistic to America as a "capitalists' country," they had no objection to our carrying on a campaign of information so long as they were sure they knew what we were doing and that we were not doing anything directly against Bolshevik organization.

Siberians were engrossed in their own political difficulties, and any question of renewing a war on the western front was out of their minds. We found that we could use material on general social and political institutions and on agriculture in America to best advantage, getting in occasionally some information showing the growing war strength of America and the increasing certainty of the defeat of the Central Powers.

*Posters.*—We had at this time the war anniversary speech of President Wilson, and this we had printed as a wall poster, in 50,000 copies, for posting in and around Omsk and for mail distribution. The circulation was carried out, after our departure, by a Russian assistant whom we engaged, under the supervision of American Consul Thomson. An additional 10,000 copies of this poster were later sent to

Vice Consul Thomas in Krasnoyarsk for display and distribution there. We also arranged at once for the distribution of about 15,000 copies each of Mr. Bullard's pamphlet "Letters of an American Friend," which had been very successful, and also of the weekly American Bulletin from the Moscow office.

Going on to Krasnoyarsk, we stayed long enough to form an impression of all the editors and Soviet leaders there, and to engage a local Russian representative, who was to work in contact with the American vice consul. We also arranged for the circulation of material through the co-operative unions; and for the regular forwarding of telegraphic news and printed literature from the central offices in Moscow. There was a considerable interest in the possibility of receiving American motion pictures at Krasnoyarsk, on which we reported, and which we intended to satisfy upon receipt of equipment at Vladivostok.

In Irkutsk we had from the start the cordial cooperation of the American Consul MacGowan, whose advice and assistance greatly facilitated the work. We had hardly got fairly started on the printing and distribution of the 50,000 copies of the war anniversary speech, however, when the work was cut short by formal instructions from Washington, via Moscow, to leave the field.

Since the Easter holidays were at hand, offering the best sort of opportunity for getting attention for the President's address, we decided to stay long enough to make effective use of the 25,000 copies which had already been run off the presses. We arranged through a local distributing agency to have these put up all over town just at the holiday time, and also to have them distributed among the crowds who gathered in the central square for the games held in celebration of the holidays after Easter. About 6,000 copies were also sent to Chita to American Consul Jenkins for circulation in Chita and the Trans-Baikal region.

In connection with the distribution of this speech there was an incident which illustrates the conditions under which work of this sort was done in Siberia, at that time, and the attitude which often had to be met on the part of the Bolshevik officials in control. In order to circulate copies of

this address of the President at all, we had to get the official permission of the Irkutsk commissars who were determining entirely what should be published in the city at the time. We went to call on Yanson, the commissar for foreign affairs of the Siberian administration, which was located in Irkutsk. He was at first absolutely opposed to publication of anything representing an American or Allied point of view.

"You know," said the commissar, "we regard all established governments with antagonism, for we aim at a world-wide revolution which will overthrow the power of the capitalists everywhere."

"Do you mean," asked we, "that you recognize no difference between such a Government as the Government of the United States of America and the Prussian military government of Germany?"

"Absolutely none," replied the commissar. "America is one financial imperialism and Germany is another. Both systematically exploit the working class and the people. So far as we are concerned they are one and the same; and we are against them both!"

We pointed out to him that the address which we proposed to publish and to circulate in and around Irkutsk was an official utterance of the Chief Executive of our Nation, that it represented the point of view of the Government of one of the great powers both with regard to the issues of the war in general and with regard to Russia, and that as such it should be published as news, not as propaganda. We got the necessary rubber-stamped permission to circulate the copies of the address on the strength of this argument, and proceeded to plaster the town with copies of the address.

*Popular interest.*—It is essential to state that in the course of doing the work in Siberia we got constant evidence of friendly feeling for America and confidence in her intentions on the part of the common people not allied with the Bolsheviks. These people were completely suppressed for the time being, however, and they could not make their point of view effective, since the Bolsheviks had all the guns. They did take our material and circulate it. We got such expressions of feeling from the railroad men along the

Trans-Siberian line, and from the students, members of professional unions, and cooperative society workers in cities where we stopped. This feeling was also evidenced in an incident which occurred after we left Irkutsk. We had left all our printed material and special article material with the American consul, asking him to give it as much circulation as possible since we were ordered out of the region. He gave the material to a representative of an American firm in Irkutsk. There the material was displayed on a counter, and in a very short time it was all gone. The consul afterwards related to us how people would come in and ask for copies and also for permission to circulate them among their friends. Representatives of the railroad workers' unions also came in and asked for permission to reprint at their own cost some of the material about America, for distribution among their members. This they actually did; and reported a wide interest in the propaganda.

We next turned to the question of getting out of Siberia. At the time there was some question as to the possibility of passage to Vladivostok around by the Amur Railway line, inasmuch as the Semeonov fighting with the Bolsheviks was very close to the line. The line to Harbin was absolutely closed. Furthermore, the Allied consuls were forbidden at the time the right to telegraph to their Governments any reports in cipher code. There was a convenient Chinese telegraph station at the border point of Maimatchin, near Kiatkhta, about three days' travel by train and then by boat up the Selenga River from Verkhne-Udinsk. We, therefore, decided to go that way and to slip across the border and send, for a representative of the British consulate who was in Irkutsk at the time, a code message to Pekin which he was very anxious to get out. Then we were to drive through Mongolia and across the Gobi Desert to Peking, taking official mail from the American consul to the American Embassy and from the British consul to the British Embassy at Peking. Following out this plan, we reached Peking on May 31, having crossed the desert in Ford automobiles running on the caravan route.

## HARBIN WORK.

Upon arrival in Peking, we cabled to Washington, expecting to return to America. We got instructions, however, to proceed to Harbin, Manchuria, on the line of the Chinese Eastern Railway, managed by a Russian directorate and forming an important link on the Trans-Siberian line from the west to Vladivostok. The towns along the route of the Russian railroad concession zone were full of Russian refugees from Bolshevik territory. The city of Harbin, at that time, formed what might be called the external political capital of Russia, having as residents influential members of the Russian business and political groups most strongly opposed to the Bolshevik régime. It therefore offered a very fertile field for publicity, combining in its population the elements above mentioned with the Russian workers in the large railroad repair shops of the Chinese Eastern Railway. We purchased a few office supplies in Peking and started for Harbin on the 10th, arriving there two days later.

The state of public opinion in Harbin and in the general section around it and reached by its newspapers was very uncertain. The German advance on the western front was still in full progress, and the fresh forces of the American Army had not yet been thrown into action. The submarine campaign was continuing, and the facts of American ship-building were not known as they needed to be known in this part of the world. The Allies had not yet adopted a policy of active aid to loyal Russians against the Bolsheviks and German-Magyar prisoner forces, so no one knew what would be the issue of the political situation in Siberia and Russia. Consequently, there were a great many people who were listening to the incessant German propaganda, that the Russian Bolshevik revolution had destroyed the last chance of the Allies to win, that the entrance of America into the war was too late to save the situation, that at least the Allies would be forced to a compromise peace in which Germany would gain the main advantages or else that Germany would actually win the decisive victory in the war and thus dominate the international situation. In Russian circles there were many who believed that a monarchy supported by an alliance with the Prussian monarchy would be the best thing

for Russia; and there were many others who believed that any force which could bring order in Russia would be beneficial, and who, consequently, were ready to turn to Germany for that result.

*Material.*—We had arranged before leaving Peking for the forwarding from the American Legation there of the daily news cable service of the Committee on Public Information from Washington. We also found in the American consulate's care some cases of motion-picture films, about 60 different films in all, some of them in duplicate and triplicate. There were also some books and pamphlets from America about American conditions and war organization, sent by the committee in Washington. The committee had also sent to the American consul, Mr. Moser, the sum of \$5,000 to finance a campaign of publicity in and around Harbin. This sum had just come to hand; and Mr. Moser, who was working under great pressure in the complicated situation in Harbin, had engaged H. Curtis Vezey, formerly editor of the Russian Daily News in Petrograd, to act as publicity agent. We retained Mr. Vezey as an assistant, moved into the temporary office which he had engaged, and started to work at the job of changing public opinion regarding the war. The sum of \$5,000 was turned over to us by Mr. Moser.

*Telegraph news.*—We began to flood the newspapers with telegrams, translated ready into Russian and furnished free, regarding the numbers of American troops being transported each month to France, the numbers of new ships being built for the battle fleet and merchant marine, amounts of Liberty loans and other subscriptions for the war, amounts of food-stuffs shipped to the Allies, and refutations of rumors about paralyzing strikes in the United States and proofs of the unity of the people in the effort against the Central Empires. Fortunately, the newspapers were either friendly to the Allies or open-minded; and further, they were comparatively poor and had no good telegraph news service. The appearance of the free American service was a boon to them. They printed nearly every line of news that we gave to them, as the filed record of clippings from the Harbin office will show.

*Articles.*—We also began to translate special articles on American national institutions and organizations, on labor

conditions and the labor movement and the reasons why labor was supporting the Government in the war and would continue to support it, on various aspects of the life of the people in America, political, social, economic, tending to show what advantages they already have and what powers they have to change conditions constantly for the better, all intended to show the reasons for American unity and loyalty. Many of these articles were also printed, despite the comparatively small size of Russian newspapers. The changed tone of editorial utterances regarding the war showed the cumulative effect of the propaganda. All utterances by the President were also translated and sent to the papers, and they were invariably published and commented on.

During all of this period our assistant, Mr. Vezey, whom we employed on a part-time arrangement, was publishing our news in English in his Russian Daily News, transported from Petrograd for the consuls and members of the foreign colony. Occasionally, when especially important news arrived, an evening telegraph bulletin in Russian was gotten out by the Russian Daily News and sold on the streets, which made a very useful and effective form of quick-action publicity.

We had the full cooperation of Mr. Moser, the American consul, and his assistants from the start, the consul having felt the need for American publicity in Harbin for a long time and greeting the arrival of special men for this work with generous cordiality.

*Fourth of July.*—We cooperated with the consulate in the arrangement of an Inter-Allied celebration of American Independence Day, which was held with considerable success. There were some American sports, organized by the local representatives of the Young Men's Christian Association, a short program in solemnization of the day, with the reading of the Declaration of Independence in English and Russian and also of a special message to the Russian and Allied community in Harbin from Secretary of State Lansing, forwarded from Washington. We had programs for the day printed, with the text of the Declaration of Independence in English and in Russian. These were read with noticeable interest, very few Russians being familiar with the principles

upon which the foundation of the American Republic was based as expressed in the Declaration. The program closed with some American music. Uncle Sam, in costume, received his guests. The whole affair left a pleasant impression; and we felt that the comparatively small sum of money we gave in meeting certain extra expenses not covered by voluntary subscriptions was quite justified by the value of having helped to create friendship in an Allied meeting under American auspices and having spread a knowledge of the meaning of the American anniversary.

*Motion pictures.*—Finally, we sorted our motion-picture films into programs and arranged for a week of American official motion pictures in one of the Harbin theaters for the benefit of the Russian Red Cross. The pictures which we had were mainly military and industrial, with a few travel pictures of America and some weekly news review films. We had the excellent film, "The Remaking of a Nation," and also much other film showing Army training in the United States. We divided the films off into programs as well balanced as possible; and then covered the town with advertisements and distributed handbills for the week's program, which we entitled "America for the Allies."

- The pictures were well attended by mixed audiences and made a considerable impression. We had quite as many Japanese as Russians in the theater usually; and the Japanese often stayed through all the performances making notes of their impressions on the military and naval films. Indeed, the Japanese always took an intent interest in all our publicity. The motion pictures showing the efficient drilling of the new army of America, and the power of the battle fleet, however, seemed to impress them most of all. The impression which we were trying to make constantly was that America was with the Allies, and for them, heart and soul, and that she was throwing into the fight every bit of strength and resource that she could make effective, a fact which was making the ultimate triumph of the Allied arms sure. The motion pictures, consequently, counted at the right time as corrective to any German propaganda of Allied defeat. The pictures also served as an excellent prelude to the news which we were able to give shortly afterwards about the first victorious American drive at Chateau-Thierry,

and the turning of the tide of battle which developed into victory.

Charging off to propaganda the cost of the posters and pamphlets which we had printed in connection with the film shows, and also of the newspaper advertising and printing of tickets, we had a balance sufficient to donate 1,500 rubles to the Harbin Chapter of the Russian Red Cross after repeating the performances in a second theater in another part of the city. If we had not made this donation we would have above covered expenses, including the theater rental and the city stamp tax on tickets. On the other hand, we would have forfeited the friendly feeling created by the gift and by the fact that in the city it was known that the pictures were not given for the sake of any profit to the American Information Bureau.

The pictures had English flash titles, so we arranged to show them with a lecturer who explained each picture in Russian and who answered any questions about it from the audience. After finishing the showings in Harbin, the pictures were sent out along the line of the Chinese Eastern Railroad in Manchuria to the Russian theaters in Tsitsikar, Hailar, and Manchuria Station. On their return they were sent to the office which had by that time been opened in Vladivostok to have Russian titles put in.

*Extent of field.*—When we first arrived in Harbin the lines to Vladivostok and to Siberia were, of course, closed. The Bolsheviks were still in control and fighting between them and Semeonov was going on along the line between Manchuria Station and Chita. The Harbin newspapers, however, were the only ones in Russian in Manchuria, and were sent to every Russian community. Consequently, by placing material in these papers, we were reaching all Russian newspaper readers. The Harbin papers were also sent through whenever possible, by various individual ways, to Vladivostok, to Habarovsk, to Blagovestchensk, and to Chita; and there they were read and often reprinted by the editors of local papers. In this way, consequently, we were reaching as much of the Siberian field as possible at the moment. When a paper was established at Station Manchuria, we started sending our telegrams and special articles there; and when another was started in Sakhalan, just across the river

in Manchuria from Blagovestchensk, we began sending material there. We also arranged with a Russian in that town to act as a local representative and to get printed material across the river into Blagovestchensk whenever possible. We also tried to send material down the Sungari River to Habarovsk.

*Pamphlets.*—The President's speech at Mount Vernon, which we printed in a pamphlet to the number of 10,000 copies in Harbin, in addition to securing publication in the newspapers, was distributed in Harbin and through Manchuria in these various ways.

The American proclamation of August 3, regarding Russia, caused a very animated discussion in the Harbin press. We printed 20,000 copies of the statement and distributed them as well as possible in Harbin and Manchuria, sending some to Sakhalen for Blagovestchensk, and some to Vladivostok. In this distribution, the American Railroad Mission was very helpful. We also had selections from the announcement made into plates for projection on the moving-picture screen and showed them in two motion-picture theaters.

*Post cards.*—From the large number of photographs sent us from Washington by the committee 25 were selected, and after some difficulty we arranged to have cuts made of them and have them printed in the form of post cards for sale in railroad stations and stationery stores.

#### MAIN SIBERIAN CAMPAIGN.

##### REPORT ON ORGANIZATION OF WORK IN VLADIVOSTOK.

This section of the report will take up the development of the Committee on Public Information service from the time of the opening of the Siberian Railroad by the Czechoslovaks in the summer—first of the road to Vladivostok from Harbin, where we were located for Compub work in June, and afterwards of the road through to the Urals, giving a chance for general Siberian work.

The first survey of the field in Vladivostok was made by William Adams Brown, jr., who was sent down from Harbin in July to arrange the first showings of American propa-

ganda motion pictures in Vladivostok. Mr. Brown arranged two successful showings of the films in the Summer Garden. He also canvassed the field in the city generally and telegraphed his conclusions as to the need for establishing Compub work in Vladivostok. Our instructions from Washington were only to go to Harbin and to start Compub work there. It seemed obvious, however, that the more centers in which publicity work could be organized, the better; and since it was possible to finance some work in advance of the arrival of the director, Arthur Bullard, with his party, telegraphic instructions were sent to Brown in Vladivostok to make preliminary arrangements and to engage a Vladivostok Russian assistant. He tentatively engaged Mr. Tilicheieff, who was formerly with us in Irkutsk, and returned to Harbin to report. I went to Vladivostok from Harbin early in August. The need of work was being urgently pointed out by the consulate and by Admiral Knight, commander of the cruiser *Brooklyn*, as well as by Americans generally who passed through the district. No representative of the Committee on Public Information had ever been stationed there. The cruiser *Brooklyn* was doing everything possible to spread American information, giving the wireless reports of news received daily to the American consulate, which in turn distributed the dispatches to the daily papers. This was all that these already overbusy representatives of the American Government could do.

This was the situation at the beginning of the Compub campaign in the middle of August. We made the first tasks to secure offices and a staff, get the telegraph news service organized to furnish authorized translations for the press, get a special article service started, continue the showing of American motion pictures, and start the printing of the pamphlet, "Letters of an American Friend," which has been successful in Russia and for which we had the text. Our idea was to have two bases in readiness for the director on his arrival, in working order, with the necessary initial staff in the offices, so that either one could be developed as a main office if necessary, or continued as a branch office. The choice fell to Vladivostok, the Harbin work being continued as subsidiary.

*Preliminary work.*—Through the courtesy of the Russian-American Chamber of Commerce my Russian assistant and I were given the temporary use of one room in an office at 67 Svetlanskaya (the main street), until we could find more suitable permanent quarters. This became the American Press Bureau until about the middle of September. In it we started to issue a daily English bulletin of the telegrams for the Allied consulates and officials, and this also went to the French Red Cross for translation for the French troops. The daily bulletin was also translated into Russian and distributed to the Russian newspapers in Vladivostok, Nikolsk-Ussurisk, and Harbin, which latter city received the English dispatches daily over the Railroad Mission telegraph wire free, the service from Peking being discontinued. A repetition of the American motion pictures was arranged for the benefit of Czecho-Slovak wounded, and the pictures were run off to good audiences. Selections were also made from material of the Foreign Press Bureau, brought from Harbin, and a series of special articles was started out to the editors of the various papers for reprinting. The service was coordinated with that sent out from Harbin, and the articles were well received and often published by the papers. These were the activities under way when I left for Japan at the end of August to meet Mr. Bullard's party, leaving instructions to keep up the search for a larger permanent office on the main street and to continue to get in touch with translators and typists, and have a list ready for an office staff if needed on our return.

This work Mr. Carl E. Krantz did very efficiently and faithfully. I could not give him better credit for his activity and loyal work in my absence than by stating the results of it. On my return early in September with the bulk of the Bullard party—Mr. Bullard himself having gone to Harbin by way of Korea before coming down to Vladivostok—Mr. Krantz had ready a list of about 25 qualified translators and typists, and had followed up one of the various possible office propositions on which he had been working so that we secured these offices in the store of Konovaloff, at Svetlanskaya 10, equipped them, and were able to move shortly after the middle of September into well-located and roomy offices with a large window on the main street where maps

and display bulletins could be shown. We had also in the meantime arranged for the use of two living rooms in the house where he was staying, and this was later extended to the use of five rooms, which were adequate for the temporary needs of the committee men passing through Vladivostok, thus solving the difficult problem of living space in this extremely congested city. Eight to ten men, for the period of a month or six weeks, slept and breakfasted together in these rooms, using one as a central living room.

*Motion Picture Division.*—The first problem upon arrival from Japan, aside from the closing of the contract for the press office on Svetlanskaya, was the securing of adequate space for the development of a motion-picture laboratory.

The following memorandum of G. S. Bothwell, technical director, indicates some of the difficulties encountered in establishing in Vladivostok the Motion Picture Division of the Committee on Public Information up to January 18, 1919:

We arrived in Vladivostok early in September and started immediately to find a suitable building. We were switched about from place to place by the local government until we were entirely disgusted. Finally we got a requisition for No. 7 Suifunskaya. The tenants in this building were practically out of business on account of the war.

In the first place, we had brought no apparatus or chemical supplies along to make titles, as we did not expect to do this work and we knew nothing about the water or climatic conditions. As it was almost impossible to get any of this apparatus from the United States within a reasonable time on account of transportation facilities, we decided to build our own stuff out of raw material, such as could be found here, and buy our chemicals in Japan. It might be well to mention that up to this time no one had been able to make moving pictures or moving-picture titles in Siberia. The English tried it at Archangel and failed and the Young Men's Christian Association and Red Cross tried it in Vladivostok and failed.

The building we worked in is like most other buildings in Vladivostok. It neither has water supply nor sewerage systems, as this is almost unknown in this place. In order to turn out any quantity of these titles we found it necessary to have running water and at an expense of 25,000 rubles, we put in a water supply and sewerage system which meets all requirements of the city's laws. However, after this system was completed and all arrangements had been agreed upon, the city authorities refused to turn water on and kept us three weeks or more without running water.

We had employed about 30 people in the Film Division and only one in the whole bunch ever saw a moving-picture film before. Experienced help in this line is simply out of the question.

All goods shipped here were considerably damaged in transit in Japan or by the customs people, possibly both. We found it necessary to establish a machine shop, and as the Russian Government had many lathes lying on the wharves rusting and fast becoming worthless we tried to requisition one. We were switched from one party to another by the Russian authorities until we were fighting mad and at last pinned them down to facts. We were informed that if we deposited 16,000 rubles in a bank a commission would let us know how much they would charge us for a lathe worth at the most \$50.

Despite these obstacles, for the past month we have been turning out about 2,500 feet of completed titles each day, quite a number of still pictures, and some motion pictures, both negative and positive.

Shortly after we arrived, about October 1, 1918, we received 70 reels of film—weeklies, current events, and news pictures. These had been sent to Harbin, Manchuria. We loaned them to the cruiser *Brooklyn* and People's House (Narodni Dom). The *Brooklyn* exhibited to Czechoslovaks and Russians as well as American troops. The People's House was an all-Russian audience and they used an interpreter.

The Young Men's Christian Association had a number of pictures belonging to us. Around the 1st of October, we secured some of this film and loaned it to the Cooperative Society, and they sent it into all the towns and villages they could reach. Transportation was simply terrible. It is beyond me to describe it. The Cooperative Society sent a lecturer-translator on these trips, as our film had English titles and was almost as understandable as it would be if you showed motion pictures with Russian titles in the United States. Union of Amur Cooperatives also used most of our educational film in the schoolhouses in and around Vladivostok.

About the middle of October we received our shipment of machines and film that we brought to Japan and the Japanese held up when we reshipped from Kobe to Vladivostok. This is a long story, and it is not possible to exactly place the responsibility.

However, after we received this film, we made many attempts to get distribution and found it most discouraging. The picture houses would not use these pictures without Russian titles and graciously offered to show them for us if we would insert good Russian titles and pay them for exhibiting first-class American films.

We then got the Vladivostok Zemstvo (Russian self-government for local districts) interested with fine results. They agreed to take our industrial and educational pictures throughout Siberia and show them in the towns and villages if we would supply the complete outfit consisting of generator, motion-picture machine, etc., which we gladly did, and the results were most satisfactory. The first show was for the agriculture districts and the reports were simply great. The village commune is common all over Siberia, and these people in many instances want to buy tractors and other farming implements collectively. They ask no end of questions and beg for farming instructors from America. They are also considering sending some of

their own people to the United States to learn how to raise the tall stalks of corn we show in the pictures. Their enthusiasm is great. When the Vladivostok Zemstvo first informed the other zemstvos about the proposed motion picture venture they immediately sent in money to the local zemstvo from 8,000 to 25,000 rubles each to have the exhibition in their districts.

We now handle all the educational work through the Vladivostok Zemstvo with gratifying success. The last show we sent out the week of January 20 is to go to the mining districts. We will probably send out more of these shows during the next month if we receive more education films in the shipment that is now due. We also send films to the Russian army training schools.

We have now started our first shows with the regular motion-picture houses and their business has increased. Our Russian titles are real Russian and they like them.

In January a successful series of motion-picture entertainments for the benefit of school children was arranged by Mr. Phil Norton, acting director of the committee, in cooperation with the Vladivostok Parents' Committees. Programs of American and Russian music, in which Mrs. Norton sang, were given in connection with these entertainments.

Mr. Bothwell deserves great credit for the manner in which he carried through the development of the motion-picture plant in the face of Vladivostok difficulties.

*Printing problems.*—The following extract from the report of Otto T. Glaman, shows also some difficulties encountered in Vladivostok in procuring facilities necessary for publicity work:

I arrived at Vladivostok October 20, and immediately took up the various problems encountered in procuring (1) printing facilities for a weekly journal it has been decided to publish; (2) paper for the printing of the Compub publication; (3) distribution and editorial rooms and offices.

Printing facilities: I found that the printing facilities available for possible Compub publications were very limited not only as regards actually mechanical appliances but also as regards inclination on the part of the Russians to do our work, the latter attitude being, in my opinion, accounted for by two reasons. Distrust was shown toward all foreign propaganda activities because of past experiences, as a number of foreign propaganda agencies had resorted to such means as subsidizing newspapers; and this distrust was augmented by the fact that the Russians were dissatisfied with the military inactivity of the United States and the Allies.

The printing plant of the newspaper *Delkaya Okraina*, owned by one Pantaleyeff, I was able to persuade to do our work only by overbidding the orders received by Pantaleyeff for schoolbooks,

which the committee was very reluctant to do, but which remained the only alternative. The Delokaya Okraina, as a matter of fact, granted the committee better facilities than it had been hoped were procurable, as immediately paper was available in sufficient quantity the Compub Weekly Journal appeared most regularly every week, without any interruption.

The Zemstvo printing shop was given a try at printing the Compub pamphlet entitled "Germany's Attempt to Control Russia," but for 100,000 copies of this publication the committee had to pay 60,000 rubles whereas for 100,000 copies of the pamphlet entitled "Letters of an American Friend," containing the same number of pages and of the same size, the committee paid the Delokaya Okraina printing shop only 37,000 rubles. The Oriental Institute printing shop was tried but showed little interest in our orders.

The one factor in the printing situations in Vladivostok that was not satisfactory as regards the shop of the Delokaya Okraina handling our work, was that flat-bed presses, which are the only available form of press in this part of the world, did not make it possible to print in sufficient numbers. The Weekly Journal started at 30,000 copies weekly, later increased to 40,000 copies. Our field offices were in a position to handle much greater numbers than the Vladivostok Feeder office was able to produce with these flat-bed presses and the available supply of paper.

**Paper supplies:** The paper situation was even more complicated than the printing press shortage, in view of the fact that there are presses in the interior of Russia which are standing idle for want of paper. Both Harbin and Ekaterinburg have offered us printing plants, to be sold to us outright, which shows that everywhere in Siberia paper shortage is very acute. Irkutsk newspapers begged Brown to urge the War Trade Board to hurry paper out there, otherwise the districts would shortly be without newspapers altogether. I managed to purchase a supply of paper, sufficient for our immediate needs, in Shanghai—old stocks of Swedish newspaper paper—and also stocks or anticipated arrivals of paper in Japan. Thus we covered our requirements until approximately May, allowing a margin of safety.

**Quarters:** After long negotiations we secured of a restaurant keeper his third-rate establishment at Borodinskaya 25, paying him his out-of-pocket expenses for renovating and rearranging the place. Under the able direction of Mrs. Bullard, this place was altered into office premises suitable for a Government organization to occupy.

**Publications.**—The following is from a report letter of Graham R. Taylor:

The publications issued by the committee from its publication office in Vladivostok are the following:

The Friendly Word, weekly magazine; 14 issues totaling 288 pages and 522,350 copies.

Letters of an American Friend, by Arthur Bullard; 150,000 copies.

American Activity in Siberia, by Arthur Bullard; 100,000 copies. America and Peace; 100,550 copies.

German Plot to Control Russia; 100,000 copies.

Typhus (handbill); 24,000 copies.

Development of Education in the United States, by Prof. W. F. Russell; 64-page booklet, 50,000 copies.

Speeches of President Wilson, 48-page booklet; 100,000 copies.

The first five issues of the Friendly Word and the pamphlets Letters of an American Friend, American Activity in Siberia, America and Peace, and German Plot to Control Russia were issued under the editorial direction of Mr. Malcolm Davis and business management of Mr. O. T. Glaman. The publications issued under my direction include issues 6 to 14, inclusive, of the Friendly Word, the handbill on the prevention of typhus, the booklet on the Development of Education in the United States, and the booklet containing speeches by President Wilson.

The fundamental purpose which has guided in the preparation of these publications, nearly all of which have been issued subsequent to the signing of the armistice, has been: (1) Statement of America's aims and activities, as shown in official utterances, in her efforts for a permanent, democratic peace and the establishment of the League of Nations; and (2) interpretation of the democratic ideals and progress of American life, in an effort to convey to the Russian people a larger understanding of America, and to promote friendship between the Russian and American peoples. The extent to which this purpose has been accomplished will appear in a complete set of our publications and in the reports from the representatives of the committee throughout Siberia, showing the distribution of the weekly magazine Friendly Word and the various pamphlets and the impression which they have created among the Russian people. The substance of this report from the publication office, therefore, lies in the contents of these publications. They have been issued under conditions of most extraordinary difficulty—difficulty in securing office quarters; in organizing a staff of Russian assistants; in finding and purchasing paper, even of poor quality and at high prices; in finding a printing office equipped to do the necessary work; in pushing work through when there were almost daily interruptions due to the failure of the power and light supply, sometimes for hours at a time, during the breakdowns of the Vladivostok electric plant; in the manufacture of half-tones for illustrations, the total output procurable in Vladivostok being usually not more than four or five a week, at prices often three times as great as in America; and in many other ways due to the disturbed and disorganized condition of life in Siberia.

*Friendly Word, weekly magazine.*—Together with the file of the 14 numbers of the Friendly Word submitted herewith, will be found the complete material in English from which the translations into Rus-

sian were made. Some of this material was drawn from the cable service of the Committee on Public Information, and this includes particularly the texts of the notes exchanged between the various nations leading up to the armistice, and the speeches of President Wilson.

The main portion of the material was received from the Foreign Press Bureau of the Committee on Public Information in New York City, and it included many articles and news notes which were used in full, others which were shortened or condensed, and others which were used as the basis for the preparation of material adapted to meet space conditions or the interest of the Siberian public. And all of the illustrations appearing in the Friendly Word are from half-tones or photographs which were sent by the Foreign Press Bureau.

The remaining portion of the material used in the Friendly Word was almost wholly written by members of the staff of the Russian Division. This included various editorial notes and articles; the articles on American Activity in Siberia, by Arthur Bullard; the series of articles by Prof. W. F. Russell on the Development of Education in America; a series of four articles on the League of Nations, by E. D. Schoonmaker; and a series of four articles on health—Typhus, Tuberculosis, Milk, and Infant Feeding—by Dr. Joshua Rosett.

The total number of pages in the 14 issues of the Friendly Word was 288. These were distributed roughly as follows:

	Pages.
Cover pages and announcements-----	34
America's efforts for peace-----	16
League of Nations-----	41
Agricultural and rural topics-----	21
City improvement-----	20
Education-----	34
American Government and citizenship-----	21
American and Russian relations-----	8
American efforts in Siberia-----	10
Health-----	13
Industry and labor-----	9
Commerce-----	9
Women's life-----	18
American activities in Europe-----	10
Demobilization and readjustment of Army-----	5
Miscellaneous-----	19
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Total -----	288

The total number of illustrations was 93.

The number of copies of Friendly Word issued were as follows:

No. 1	30,250
No. 2	30,000
No. 3	30,000
No. 4	34,500
No. 5	40,000
No. 6	39,500
No. 7	40,000
No. 8	39,500
No. 9	40,250
No. 10	40,000
No. 11	41,350
No. 12	40,000
No. 13	40,000
No. 14	37,000
 Total	 522,350

These 522,350 copies were distributed to the various offices of the committee as follows:

Ekaterinburg	95,000
Omsk	142,000
Novo Nikolaevsk (distribution by American consul)	17,500
Irkutsk	122,200
Chita	70,000
Harbin	24,000
Vladivostok	44,900
Distributed from Compub car	6,750
 Total	 522,350

This distribution was greatly facilitated by the generous cooperation of the Czecho-Slovak authorities in permitting the shipment of bundles of copies in the weekly mail car operated by the Czecho-Slovaks on the Trans-Siberian Railroad.

From each of the offices of the committee copies were sent, as far as possible, to individual addresses. Each copy was thus made to count effectively. The mailing lists included governmental and local officials, libraries, reading rooms, universities and schools, officers and members of Zemstvos, cooperative societies and peasant unions, persons who wrote letters expressing interest and requesting copies, etc. In many cases organizations such as Zemstvos, cooperative societies, peasant unions, teachers organizations, literary societies, and commercial and industrial bodies, took an active interest in distributing copies to their members.

The details of distribution and the response accorded to the Friendly Word and the other publications of the committee appear more fully in the reports by the representatives of the committee throughout Siberia.

*Letters of an American Friend.*—Of this pamphlet of 24 pages, written by Arthur Bullard, Director of the Russian Division, expressing the friendly interest of America in the democratic progress of the Russian people and explaining the principles of American democracy, there were published 150,000 copies, distributed as follows:

Ekaterinburg	25,000
Omsk	22,000
Irkutsk	22,000
Chita	16,000
Harbin	6,000
Vladivostok	51,500
Distributed from Compub car	7,500
 Total	 150,000

Car used by Messrs. Davis and Glaman on inspection trip.

*American Activity in Siberia*—This pamphlet of 8 pages, containing a reprint of an article by Arthur Bullard, Director of the Russian Division, which originally appeared in the *Friendly Word*, was published in an edition of 100,000 copies, distributed as follows:

Ekaterinburg	27,000
Omsk	24,000
Irkutsk	20,000
Chita	12,000
Harbin	8,000
Vladivostok	4,000
Distributed from Compub car	5,000
 Total	 100,000

*America and Peace*—This pamphlet of 16 pages, compiled by M. W. Davis, containing, with an introduction, the texts of the notes exchanged between the various nations in the negotiations leading up to the armistice, and passages from President Wilson's speeches bearing on peace, was published in an edition of 100,550, distributed as follows:

Ekaterinburg	11,000
Omsk	22,000
Novo Nikolaevsk (distribution by American Consul)	4,000
Irkutsk	20,000
Chita	11,000
Harbin	6,000
Vladivostok	7,800
Distributed from Compub car	18,750
 Total	 100,550

*The German Plot To Control Russia*.—This pamphlet of 16 pages, by M. W. Davis, after consultation with Mr. Bullard, containing the

substance of the documents in the Sisson report made public by the Committee on Public Information to show the character of German activity in Russia, was published in an edition of 100,000 copies and distributed as follows:

Ekaterinburg-----	23,000
Omsk-----	18,000
Irkutsk-----	13,000
Chita-----	9,500
Harbin-----	3,500
Vladivostok-----	28,000
Distributed from Compub car-----	5,000
 Total -----	100,000

*Typhus handbill.*—This handbill, containing a reprint of an article in the Friendly Word designed to give information in popular form concerning ways whereby each individual and family could help combat the epidemic of typhus in Siberia, was printed in an edition of 24,000 and distributed as follows:

Ekaterinburg-----	4,000
Omsk-----	5,000
Novo Nikolaevsk (distributed by American consul)-----	2,000
Irkutsk-----	7,000
Chita-----	3,000
Harbin-----	2,000
Vladivostok-----	1,000
 Total -----	24,000

*Development of Education in the United States.*—This booklet of 64 pages, containing a reprint of the 14 educational articles by Prof. W. F. Russell, of the State University of Iowa, which were originally published in the Friendly Word, was published in an edition of 50,000 and, in accordance with instructions from the main office of the committee in Washington, the entire edition, issued just prior to the termination of the committee's work in Siberia, was turned over to the American consul in Vladivostok for distribution under the supervision of the various consular officers in Siberia.

*Speeches of President Wilson.*—This booklet of 48 pages was published in an edition of 100,000 copies, 7,000 on a good quality of paper for distribution to libraries, reading rooms, schools, universities and officials, and 93,000 on cheap paper for popular distribution. It contained the following speeches:

- America Must Accept War. April 2, 1917.
- Memorial Day Address. May 30, 1917.
- Statement to Russia. June 9, 1917.
- Address to the American Federation of Labor. November 12, 1917.

America's Terms for General Peace. January 8, 1918.

Who is Responsible? The Answer to Germany and Austria.

February 11, 1918.

Freedom or Slavery? Address on the Opening of the Campaign for the Third Liberty Loan. April 6, 1918.

America's War Aims Restated. Fourth of July Address at Mount Vernon. July 4, 1918.

Address on the Opening of the Campaign for the Fourth Liberty Loan. September 27, 1918.

Passages from Addresses Delivered on Arrival in Europe. December, 1918.

The League of Nations. Address at the Peace Conference in Paris. January 25, 1919.

The entire edition, issued just prior to the termination of the committee's work in Siberia, was, in accordance with the instructions received from the main office of the committee in Washington, turned over to the American consul in Vladivostok for distribution under the supervision of the various consular officers in Siberia.

In concluding this brief summary of the publication work of the Russian Division it should be stated that after barely six months of effort the work had arrived at a stage of efficient operation when, in accordance with instructions, its discontinuance became necessary.

The Friendly Word especially, as the principal channel for disseminating information about America, had been developed to a point where it was meeting with rapidly widening interest and increasing appreciation on the part of all elements of the Siberian people. Each issue had been an improvement on the preceding one, and the final issue, No. 14, was 32 pages in size, with 22 illustrations, and presented a broad interpretation of various phases of American life. Its discontinuance called forth many expressions of regret from its Russian readers and friends. The termination of the weekly magazine and of the work of the committee in Siberia was considered by many Russians to be an indication that, despite all the expressions of interest and friendship on the part of America toward the Russian people, the real interest of America was merely to gain and utilize support in the struggle against German autocracy, and was not based upon genuine and lasting friendship.

To counteract this impression, care was taken to point out in the editorial announcement in the final issue of the Friendly Word, that the discontinuance of the magazine and the work of the committee in Siberia was due to the inevitable contraction and readjustment of American governmental activities from a war to a peace basis, and that this process naturally involved the Committee on Public Information which had been created as a war agency. But the experience of the Russian Division shows the great value of an information service from one country to another. And it is to be hoped that the American people may find a way to reestablish and extend such a service for the promotion of mutual understanding, which is the foundation of friendship between peoples.

## FIELD ORGANIZATION.

The scope of this report does not give opportunity to include the reports of the individual field men in Chita, Irkutsk, Omsk, Ekaterinaburg, and Chelyabinsk, which contain much interesting detail. They worked loyally and hard in the service, with a spirit of cooperation which made the whole relationship a pleasure. Special notice is due to the service of W. A. Brown, jr., who had the hardest physical conditions to face. He traveled on freight cars and crowded third and fourth class cars constantly, and never complained of hardship if a piece of work could be done. He went to Perm as soon as possible after its capture from the Bolsheviks, and had literature dropped across their lines from airplanes.

In general, the distribution from the field offices was carried out by developing personal mailing lists so that every one of our restricted number of copies would count, or by giving limited numbers to people or organizations to distribute them personally.

The daily telegraph news service was extended to reach nearly all Siberian papers through an agreement with the Russian Telegraph Agency at Omsk, reached through R. E. Winters, our representative there.

In addition, our bulletins in English were sent by American headquarters at Vladivostok to Chita and relayed by our man there to the other field men, so that each would have the service in full.

The field men also received weekly packages by mail, with special articles already translated for the press and full sets of the bulletin accompanying a regular service letter.

Early in January Otto T. Glaman, business manager, and I started out for a tour of the field to get in touch with the men in the several offices and to coordinate their activities further if necessary. We traveled in a freight car, which had been made over into an office car, with a sleeping compartment and a kitchen and a brakeman's compartment, specially for this purpose by the American Railway Mission. We also had a smaller freight car as trailer, with a stock of literature and of fuel and food supplies for ourselves and the field man.

The Harbin office, which we visited first, we found not very active. This had become a minor office since the centers of interest shifted to Vladivostok and to western Siberia, its main responsibility being the receipt and distribution of a small amount of literature for Harbin and other partly Russian communities in Manchuria along the line of the railway. The Harbin office was the only one in which there was any sign of lack of energy or interest.

The Chita office, under Franklin Clarkin, which we visited next, was especially well organized. A large personal address list had been worked up; and nearly every copy of our sadly limited amount of literature sent out from this office was going by request to some individual who would be sure to read it and circulate it, while copies distributed in bunches were strictly controlled and were sent to organizations which circulated them to their members direct. These were the principles of distribution which we urged throughout the field. In Irkutsk we received the demobilization orders, and from there on the original purpose of the trip was automatically changed. We went to Omsk, where we took Brown, from Ekaterinburg, and Winters, from Omsk, office manager, on board with us and started back for Vladivostok on March 2. Bakeman, the Irkutsk manager, returned in a consulate car, and Clarkin, from Chita, with us.

#### SUMMARY OF RESULTS.

To estimate the results and the consequent value of a campaign of public information which could not be completed is both difficult and problematical. Nevertheless, I am confident in saying that all of the men engaged in the work, and also men in other official American services, felt at the close that the effort had justified itself and been worth while.

*The telegraph news service alone, reaching 150 Siberian papers by our arrangement with the Russian Telegraph Agency in Omsk, was a great influence.*

When the division was ordered to demobilize, the friendly attitude of other American agencies, and especially the cordial cooperation of the headquarters of the American Expeditionary Forces and of the consulate general and branch

consulates, were evidence that useful work had been accomplished. This evidence was reinforced by many expressions from Russians, samples of whose letters are given at the end of the report.

Summing up the results of the work, I should say that the most valuable effect was the creation of a new sense of acquaintance with America and with the spirit of the American people. As one Siberian editor wrote:

I think that I am not mistaken when I say that owing to the activities of the representatives of the American Press Bureau, democratic America will never again become a strange country of industrial kings to the population of Siberia.

This establishment of a knowledge of the life and character of the rank and file of the American people, and of the broad range of their interests and activities, together with a sense of mutual sympathetic interest in common ideals and aspirations, is the most important achievement of the Siberian Department. The circulation of our material on the organization and growth of a modern democracy, with its creative principles of constructive change and development, may also do much to clear up the confusion existing in many Russian minds challenged for the first time with the problem of working out their own difficulties. All the evidence is that the work has laid a basis of friendly interest which will remain for future relations of cooperative good will.

Coupled with this broader result and contributing to it, are certain very specific things which the Siberian Department did. By circulating broadcast information about American war organization and activity, it helped to convince the public mind in Siberia of the potential power of America and its promise of victory during the critical days when the issue of the war was still in doubt in 1918. By circulating information about the American peace program and the League of Nations proposal, embodied in the addresses of President Wilson, it helped to establish confidence in the genuine disinterested sincerity of America as a Nation and as a democracy in matters of international policy. By circulating information regarding the American policy concerning Russia, it served to create confidence in America as a country not seeking for internal control in Russia and Siberia and truly interested in free and fair play for Rus-

sians in the settlement of their own affairs. The circulation of information regarding the activities of American relief agencies, such as the American Red Cross, the American Railway Mission, and the American War Trade Board, as well as regarding the interest taken by Americans at home in Russian affairs and the progress of the Russian people in their struggle for a better order under free institutions has at the same time kept alive the sense of American friendship and sympathy. Circulation of information regarding American methods of agriculture and industry and regarding the life of the American farmer and the efforts for betterment of the conditions of life of the worker, regarding the activities of the American Government in the interest of the people, and regarding the powers and opportunities which the people of the United States have for changing and perfecting their institutions, have both corrected many false impressions of America and tended to develop new standards in Russian minds for their own national life and system of Government.

In closing, I wish to express in the name of all the staff of Siberian Department of the Committee on Public Information—for I know from their expressions that I can do so—our appreciation of your personal leadership as Director of the Russian Division, and our sense of privilege in having had the opportunity to serve with you in this work in the interest of the Russian people and of Russian-American friendship.

Faithfully,

M. W. DAVIS,  
*Manager Siberian Department.*

SAMPLE LETTERS.

Opinions of prominent men of Chita, Siberia, concerning activities of the Committee on Public Information:

1. President of Zemstvo of Trans-Baikalia Province:

The Committee on Public Information has worked here too little. One might suppose that if it would continue work here the aim of bringing near peoples of America and Russia by means of permanent information would have been attained. It is too bad that the committee ceases work here at the very beginning.

**2. President of Exchange:**

As to myself, I consider the activities of the Committee on Public Information most useful as to information about American life and views. I think that continuation of work by the American Committee on Public Information would have been very desirable for the neutralization of local partial views.

**3. Mayor:**

Sympathies of the Russian people toward America have always been great ones, and acquaintance by Russians with political and economic life of America have had a positive influence as to development of democratic ideas in Russia. The democratic institutions and structure of life of the United States always attracted the broad masses of Russian people. If the American Committee on Public Information would continue to exist and would enlarge the scope of its activities, it would be of great importance in bringing near America and Russia.

CHITA, *March 1, 1919.*

To Mr. CLARKIN, *Chita, D. S.:*

I am glad to fulfill your proposal to write you my sincere opinion about the publications that you had been so kind as to send me, as well as to tell you whether they have been of any utility for Russians at the present crisis. That is rather a difficult task, for it is equivalent to the evaluation of the importance of activities of the American Press Bureau and its Siberian branches for the population of Siberia.

It seems to me that the United States of America through their Press Bureau have made the first attempt in the world to speak immediately with the people and not with the Government and its agents. I don't know whether it has been their intention, but it has proved to be so.

Notwithstanding the comparatively close neighborhood of America and Siberia, broad circles of Siberian population did not know America. Even the intelligenzia did not know this country, although they had studied in schools the denominations of American rivers, lakes, and cities. More precise representation about the industrial force of America had only two groups of population—traders and industrials, and workmen, followers of social democracy, the theoretics of which followed very attentively the economic successes of the trans-Atlantic Republic. But this knowledge was partial. The representation about American social life, about American schools, about the life of agricultural population, about ties of American public thought, etc., were very fragmental by all shades of Siberian population, and frequently even false.

A most insignificant correction brought into this false representation about America Russian emigrants who returned from America after the February revolution. Most of them had no general view on the many-folded and many-sided life of America; they evidently knew only one corner of America, and a very narrow one.

The first American publications in 1917 and 1918, in general, did not attain their end, and augmented very little the acquaintance with America among broad masses of Russian people. They were being sent mainly to governmental and public institutions, i. e., to a group of city inhabitants who were very deeply engaged in social-political affairs and strife and paid very little attention to publications which they were receiving from time to time.

That is perhaps a generalization which is not quite true, but it was so in Irkutsk and trans-Baikalian Provinces in 1917 and in the first half of 1918. The circumstance that the material of the publications of the American Press Bureau was a very official one, and I would say dry, attributed to such an attitude toward them.

Toward the end of 1918 circumstances changed fully. On the one side the importance of America in the economic life of the world and its decisive and crushing part in the World War became not merely plain and sensibly clear, but the consciousness of that penetrated to the very bottom of illiterate Siberian villages. At the same time over the Siberian population was pending the threat of a strong and undesirable political and economic influence on the part of Japan. This especially alarmed the population, for the Japanese Government was supporting and helping monarchical and reactionary elements that appeared on the surface after the overthrow of Soviet power by Czecho-Slovaks.

All that raised an intensive interest toward America which could not be sufficed by far by official telegrams and declarations. Just at that time started appearing the Friendly Word, which had put to itself much broader tasks than previous publications. But the new journal would not have acquired such a publicity as it enjoyed if the bureau would not have come near to the population by opening branches in Siberia, and particularly in Chita.

Through cooperative societies, which number only in the eastern part of trans-Baikalia reaches 500, the publications of the bureau were being distributed among the masses of rural population, and owing to the above-mentioned general interest in America they have been welcome visitors.

But have they been useful to Russians? If utility will be evaluated by rubles and copecks, then of course not. But if one means utility, that knowledge precise representation about near and remote neighbors give us, then obviously they have been very useful; from the chaos of fantastic representations about the land of dollars and trust companies has emerged the real America.

But except the service that the publications of the bureau have rendered to Siberia and its population America itself has profited by them; it has raised its authority and popularity. It is to be said that especially during the last time, perhaps owing to the wide information activities of the bureau, the period of indefinite sympathies or unsympathies toward America on the part of the whole population has ended, and the position of certain public groups has proved to become definite. The turning point, without any doubt, has been the

project of the league of nations, the decision of the peace conference concerning conference on Princes Island, and partly also the Habarovsk incident.

Reactionary monarchical groups headed by various nominal governments of separate Provinces of Siberia have realized that America is not intended to back them in all their desires, that it does not thirst to cover European Russia with blood only with the end to suffice dark and exasperated masses and political parties of maximalists doctrine by the rule "for one eye two, for a tooth a jaw" as it is being applied now in Siberia; but they are sincerely striving to establish perhaps a bad but nevertheless a civil peace, and want to diminish useless bloodshed (Habarovsk). These groups are now showing their wrath toward America that they were hiding before. Counting with the physical power of America (these gentlemen are always acknowledging only physical force as a dog a stick) they have limited their actions with a few excesses only.

Trading and industrial circles were for a long time unconditional partisans of America following their traditional, since 1905, feeling of enmity toward Japan. During the last time one begins to perceive also here a hesitation. I will not try to find out the reasons of this phenomenon, the more so for they are not difficult to understand, I only will mention the fact that *President Wilson*, about whom the representative of these groups, the Kadet Party, was speaking with respect, has suddenly become "*Mister Wilson*," and all his projects have proved to be "theoretical"; briefly, the right Siberian press have made the same turning to the right as the Paris reactionary papers.

Partisans of the fallen Soviet power who railed before the American militarism not less than the Anglo-French one practically have begun to confess the point of view of America, although officially they have not changed their position. In cases of crying violences workmen and peasants were striving to find protection, or at least sympathy, not at Frenchmen or Italians, but at representatives of America.

These groups represent an insignificant minority of Siberian population, while the great majority of Siberian peasants, a considerable part of workmen, and middle classes of city population—are true friends of America.

And I think I may say that these sympathies are based upon a solid material foundation. The Siberian peasant needs agricultural machines which he may have quickly and comparatively cheap only from America. If Siberia has to become the arena of activities of foreign capital it would not be indifferent to the Siberian workmen and intelligenzia whether this will be Japanese, French, or American capital. Russian population has enough experience to know that Japanese capital would come not only with its machines (oftentimes imported from other countries), administration, but also with their own workmen and employees, that French capital would do the same (except importation of workmen), while American business men would not do that.

Meantimes on Russian soft-bodied business men close connection with American spirit of enterprise does not smile.

The Siberian democracy is headed by two organizations—cooperatives and Zemstvo and city self-governments. By informing them the American Press Bureau and its branches were informing the whole organized population. In Trans-Baikalia this has been attained rather completely and even perfectly.

The publications of the bureau interested but did not satisfy always. One was feeling lack of information about American co-operatives, municipal and workmen life, about social-political grouping. The last numbers of Friendly Word show the tendency to discuss also these sides of life of America.

In connection with the departure of the branches of the American Press Bureau among Siberian readers of its publications arises the question whether the information activities of the bureau would continue, and if it would so, in what a form. It is difficult to suppose that nations after this four years' slaughter just finished would be satisfied by unorganized, incomplete, and oftentimes pursuing practical aims, information of newspapers party and sometimes commercial interests of which impede them from being objective. It seems to me that big weekly newspapers, like the London Times, the Paris Temps and Matin, the New York Tribune, Herald, and others, the Philadelphia Public Ledger, etc., are giving little real representation about the life of their respective country as a lively street of some large city about domestic life of these people and their public and scientific interests. On the other side, one has to fear that these papers would swallow the whole flora of the terrestrial globe. . . . Therefore, I think that such brief reviews of life of the country which the Friendly Word started to give to Russian readers one should prefer to huge bunches of newspaper paper overheaped with bagatelles and information of transitory interest. While closing the branches of its Committee on Public Information America would, perhaps, continue issuing yearbooks or monthly papers that might be published in languages of the whole civilized world.

For immediate collaboration in such publications might be admitted representatives of all ties of social, economic, and political life and thought, as by this the authority and wealth of contents would be augmented.

I think that I am not mistaken when I say that, owing to the approaching activities of representatives of the American Press Bureau, democratic America will never again become a strange country of industrial kings to the population of Siberia, and that Siberian and American rural population and workmen will establish in the next future, through their economic organizations, the cooperatives, a close business and spiritual collaboration.

Yours, truly,

K. Lux,

*Secretary of Trans-Baikalian Union of Cooperative Societies.*

Table showing literature received at Irkutsk office.

Date received.	Letters of an American friend.	Bolshevik pamphlet.	American Association in Siberia.	Weeky No. 1.	Weeky No. 2.	Weeky No. 3.	Weeky No. 4.	Weeky No. 5.	Weeky No. 6.	Weeky No. 7.	Weeky No. 8.	Weeky No. 9.	Weeky No. 10.	Weeky No. 11.	Weeky No. 12.	Weeky No. 13.	Weeky No. 14.
Nov. 25...	5,000	20,000	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Dec. 10...	12,000	5,000	12,000	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Dec. 18...	10,000	4,000	8,000	6,000	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Dec. 26...	4,000	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Jan. 3...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Jan. 10...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Jan. 17...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Jan. 24...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Jan. 31...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Feb. 6...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Feb. 13...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Feb. 20...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Feb. 28...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mar. 2...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mar. 10...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mar. 17...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mar. 24...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mar. 31...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total....	27,000	13,000	40,000	6,000	20,000	6,000	7,500	10,000	9,000	11,000	10,000	7,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	

This table was made out on Mar. 5 and the schedule of arrivals of material after that date is simply an estimation made from the plan of shipments sent out from the central office at Vladivostok.

Table showing distribution of literature from Irkutsk office.

Method of distribution.	Letters of an American Friend.	Bolshevik pamphlet.	American Actions in Siberia.	Weekly No. 1.	Weekly No. 2.	America and Peace.	Weekly No. 3.	America and Peace.	Weekly No. 4.	Weekly No. 5.	Weekly No. 6.	Weekly No. 7.	Weekly No. 8.	Weekly No. 9.	Weekly No. 10.	Typhus pamphlets.
Sent out through post to regular mailing list.....	12,525	7,900	14,250	5,200	5,200	5,200	5,200	5,200	5,200	5,200	5,200	5,200	8,000	8,000	8,000	8,000
Sent out through post to local agents for distribution.....	21,000	3,100	8,850	800	800	2,800	800	1,900	800	1,000	1,000	1,000	2,200	1,200	1,200	7,000
Distributed through newspapers of Irkutsk.....	10,475	.....	14,900	.....	.....	.....	.....	11,000	.....	.....	4,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Distributed through newspapers of Krasnoyarsk.....	2,000	2,000	2,000	.....	.....	.....	1,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total.....	27,000	13,000	40,000	6,000	6,000	20,000	6,000	20,000	6,000	7,100	10,000	9,000	11,000	10,000	10,000	7,000

*Addresses contained in mailing lists (grand total, 7,091).*

Irkutsk Province (total, 5,908 addresses) :

Schools -----	991
Peasants' unions-----	1,293
Cooperative unions-----	758
Government institutions-----	1,025
Hospitals -----	98
Educational societies-----	50
Telegraph offices-----	233
Individuals-----	1,460

Yakutsk Province (total, 77 addresses) :

Schools -----	50
Government institutions-----	27

Yeneseesk Province (1,106 addresses) :

Schools -----	1,000
Government institutions-----	106

NOTE.—The list of local agents includes about 40 individuals, scattered throughout the Provinces of Irkutsk, Yakutsk, and Yeneseesk, who have offered their services for the distribution of our literature. They handle from 10 to 200 copies apiece.

Translation of letter from Irkutsk Province Professional-Political Peasants' Union Executive Committee.

IRKUTSK, December 13, 1918.

AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC INFORMATION, Irkutsk.

DEAR SIRS: I have read with pleasure the pamphlets which you have sent me, namely: Letters of an American Friend, American Actions in Siberia, The Friendly Word, and others.

I think that these pamphlets will meet among the intelligent readers of our villages with due understanding and friendly sympathy. The sobriety of opinions and the definite decisiveness of their tones are the good features of the articles. One feels the voice of democracy sound in these articles—democracy which is conscious of its national interests and aspirations, which is conscious of its power and real possibilities. The statements of friendly feelings of the American democracy toward the Russian workaday people will produce a favorable impression on our readers, especially if such statements are followed up by friendly acts. We already see these friendly acts in the behavior of the American troops on Russian soil, in the practical measures of giving economical aid to Russia, and we would be glad to see the same friendly attitude in the question which is most vital for the Russian people, the question whether or not the Russian people will take part in the conclusion of the international peace treaty.

We think that the American democracy, whose voice is practically decisive among the powers that have taken part in the great conflict, will give a possibility to the Russian democracy to state its national aspirations at the conference where the peace terms will be worked out and also to attain a maximum of its national interests.

We are aware that the nature of our participation will depend entirely upon ourselves. Our international situation will correspond to the state of our internal affairs. With a collapse going on in the interior we can not count on an honorable standing on the international "front."

Nevertheless, we not only believe, we feel sure that Russia will exist as an independent country. "The darker the night, the brighter the stars." He who knows Russian history knows what the Russian people is capable of. We have survived the domination of the Tatars; we have successfully emerged from the great collapse at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and we gave the whole world an example of a great national war in the beginning of the nineteenth century. We will also overcome the political, social, and economical collapse of to-day.

The regeneration of our country is already commencing. It is coming from beneath the surface, from the villages. Let the political leanings and currents of the parties on the surface change as they will; let the fierce political struggle, which is as bitter as it is aimless, continue in its usual way; let the "temporary Government's combinations" be created or destroyed for some one or another occasional reason; these actions are not those of the real people of the country. Their hour has not yet struck. They do not yet feel themselves strong enough or well enough organized to express their power and feelings in national government affairs. It is, however, from them, from the God-forsaken villages that the real Russian Government and the real Russian strength is being formed. Notwithstanding its being aback of civilization, notwithstanding its lack of experts in the various brauches of social and economical life, the villages are making their efforts to organize their producing and consuming forces, their own local governments, their own educational systems, and all on the basis of true democracy.

Reports are coming in daily from the villages and we are well acquainted with the heart, the thought, and the purpose of the people. It is our task now to give our support and assistance to the organization of the foundations of our future Government, to strengthen the consumers, producers, and credit cooperative unions of the masses, to maintain the power of the zemstvos, in order that at a certain time of the future the great workaday masses may be united on the basis of creating a single stable State out of the now disconnected parts of our country. This, as we see it, is the way to the rebirth of our country.

We think that the American democracy which is friendly toward us will help us to lay the foundations of the future Russian State and will help us in building up here a new life. This faith has been brought to us by the friendly announcements of the American democracy and the friendly acts of the American Government.

E. SMIRNOV,  
*Secretary of the Executive Committee  
of the Peasants' Union of Irkutsk.*

Translation of a letter published in the Nashe Derevnya, Irkutsk, February 25, 1919:

VILLAGE BRATSKOIE, DISTRICT NIJNEUDINSK.

EDITOR NASHE DEREVNYA, Irkutsk.

DEAR SIR: The population of the Bratskaya and Bolshemamurskaya Counties are reading with great interest the American Publicity Bureau literature which is being sent to them by the Irkutsk Government Peasants' Union. They are interested in this literature for two reasons, first because the desire is constantly growing among them for a knowledge of what is going on in the outside world and second, and chiefly, because they are longing for a new and democratic order of things. The order of American life finds great approval among the majority of our population; the Siberian wants to live as the American does.

Generally, a great need of literature of rural, domestic, and co-operative character is felt. And although the peasants' cooperative paper Nashe Derevnya gives us such answer to these needs as it can, it is far from what we, the peasant breadmakers, want to receive and what we require of the press.

Give us more literature, you who are acquainted with our interests and who appreciate our start toward the light. Send to the villages more books and pamphlets which are written according to the needs of the peasant population.

Respectfully, yours,

A. KOKORIN.

## Analysis of distribution of committee material from Ekaterinburg office, Dec. 5, 1918, to Feb. 12, 1919.

To whom sent.	League of Nations poster.	Letters of an American Friend.	German Attempt to Control Russia.	America and Peace.	American Activity in Russia.	The Friendly Word (weekly).	Comment.
To Y. M. C. A. Czech clubs and hospital reading rooms. Distributed personally from Dec. 4 to 14 to various organizations. Sitin's Bookstore, to be given customers in and out of town.	600 2,000	600 4,000	500	500 300 300	500 500 500	500 500 500	{ sent in 2 installments; second sent only after first was exhausted.
Blokhinvi's Bookstore.....	.....	.....	300	300	300	200	Do.
Sent to Perm for distribution.....	4,000	1,500	500	.....	1,000	1,000	1 After third number reduced to 500, as there was no check on distribution.
United committee for sending presents to the Army. Cooperative Bookstores in Ekaterinburg.....	.....	6,000 500	1,500	.....	.....	2 500	2 Reduced 250 after No. 4, when cooperatives sent a full mailing list.
Sent out with cooperative weekly Uralskaya Khozaisler. Library, Belinskii.....	.....	1,000	.....	.....	.....	3 1,500	3 100 of No. 5 were sent, and from then on 1,500.
To all stations on the Perm R. R., sent through West Ural R. R. News. To individual out of town organizations, clubs, schools, unions, etc. Mailing list.....	.....	800 200 300	200 800 300	400 300	500 300	300 250	Second installment sent at their request.
Thrown over Bolshevik lines by aeroplane. Russian Soldiers' Club, Ekaterinburg. Railway workers.....	.....	815	875	1,120	1,125	.....	Each package sent with an individual covering letter.
Zemskaya Uprava.....	.....	.....	6,000	.....	.....	650	Consisting exclusively of answers to individual requests.
Mayor teacher's union.....	.....	5,000 400	550 500	.....	.....	500	Delivered to Gen. Papoelaefs, chief of staff, in Perm. Literature sent at request of Russian secretary.
Turmen, Dr. Lewis, of American Hospital.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4 800	Club has attendance of 3,000 a day. At first we sent 200, but increased number at request of divisional superintendent.
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	300 50 150 500	500 To be sent to 177 Zemskilibraries in smaller towns. Teachers' union increased from 50 to 150 at their request. A portion of this was distributed on route by the Czech post.

*Analysis of distribution of committee material from Ekaterinburg office, Dec. 5, 1918, to Feb. 12, 1919—Continued.*

To whom sent.	League of Nations poster.	Letters of an American Friend.	German Attempt to Control Russia.	America and Peace.	American Activity in Russia.	The Friendly Word (weekly).	Comment.
To Chelbinsk, not included in their report.	.....	.....	.....	2,000	3,000	.....	Nos. 4 and 5 of Friendly Word came to Ekaterinburg but were sent back to Chelbinsk again.
Sundry distribution from office, largely through mails and to people living out of town.	3,885	6 8,475	.....	.....	1,500	.....	Mostly sent to factory centers from which requests for the Friendly Word were received.
Undistributed.....	3,400	.....	.....	6 1,430	7 25,375	.....	6 I left shortly after this shipment arrived. <sup>7</sup> See my report.
Total.....	8 10,000	26,500	21,500	6,250	34,000	8 7,500	8 Approximate. <sup>9</sup> This figure varied considerably.

*Committee articles printed in the Ekaterinburg papers between Dec. 12 and Feb. 11, 1919.*

**Uralskaya Jizni:**

- Economic Help in Russia.<sup>1</sup>
- Land Reform in California.
- How War has Effected Schools in America.
- Night Schools in America.
- How Wilson Brought Industrial Peace.
- Wilson's Explanation of His Third Peace Point.<sup>1</sup>
- Agricultural Finance in America.<sup>1</sup>
- History of Tanks.
- Prohibition of Child Labor in America.
- Mrs. Wilson to Allied Women.
- Public Education in America.
- The Steel Mule.

**Otetchesvnia Viedomosti:**

- Work of American Red Cross.<sup>1</sup>
- How the American Army is Chosen.<sup>1</sup>
- Work of Prof. Russell.
- Quotation, first editorial in Friendly Word.
- Activity of Y. M. C. A.<sup>1</sup>
- Note on Dr. E. J. Dillion.<sup>1</sup>
- Wilson's Explanation of His Third Peace Point.
- Significance of recent Congressional Elections in America.<sup>1</sup>

**Gorni Krai:**

- American Policy in Siberia.<sup>1</sup>
- How the American Army is Chosen.<sup>1</sup>
- Living Conditions of American Workmen.
- Eight Hour Day in America.
- Growth of League of Nations Idea.<sup>1</sup>

**Ural Economy:**

- Life of the American Farmer.<sup>1</sup>
- Financial Facilities of the American Farmer.<sup>1</sup>
- Education of the American Farmer.<sup>1</sup>

A complete analysis of all material in the Ekaterinburg papers touching America will be found in my report letters in my office files.

Wm. Adams Brown, Jr.

*Articles sent to Svobodnaya Perm.*

- Various News.
- Freedom of Religious Worship.
- Newspapers in America.
- Wholesale Ship Building.
- Telephone System.
- Y. M. C. A. Pamphlet.
- Farmers Non-Partizan League.

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<sup>1</sup> Articles written or prepared by Wm. Adams Brown, Jr.

- Organizing Three Million Farmers.
- Why Farmers Supported the War.
- Land for Returned Soldiers.
- Industrial Peace.
- Justice to Workers.
- Influence of War on American Education.
- Democratic Education.
- United States and Poland.
- Polish Heroes.
- Use of American Fleet after the War.

*Articles sent to papers in other cities than Ekaterinberg.*

Sent January 20:

- Tieumen, Svobodnoe Slovo—
  - American Activity in Siberia.
  - Special Government Loans to Farmers.
  - Tractors in Agriculture in America.
  - Difficult Position of American Socialists.
- Tobolsk, Tobolsk Peoples Word—
  - American Activity in Siberia.
  - Schools of America are Clubs for the People.
  - Why Farmers Supported the War.
  - Learning Agriculture on these Farms.
- Petropavlosk, Edinstvo—
  - American Activity in Siberia.
  - Article of Walsh on Democratic Principles in Industry.
  - Land Allotments for Returning American Soldiers.
  - Rotation of Crops.
- Irbit, Irbutski Viestnik—
  - American Activity in Siberia.
  - Article of Walsh on Democratic Principles in Industry.
  - Tractors in Agriculture in America.
  - Public Opinion in America.

To be sent two weeks later:

- Tieumen, Svobodnoe Slovo—
  - A Country League of Nations.
  - Rotation of Crops.
  - Land Lots for Returning Soldiers.
  - Y. M. C. A. Soldiers.
- Tobolsk, Tobolskoe Norodnoe Slovo—
  - Article of Walsh on Democratic Principles in Industry.
  - Rotation of Crops.
  - Various News.
  - Y. M. C. A. Pamphlet.
- Petropavlosk, Edinstvo—
  - United States and Labor.
  - Effort Toward Democratic Education in the United States.
  - Why the Farmers Supported the War.
  - Y. M. C. A. Pamphlet.

*Articles sent to out-of-town papers.*

Irbit, Irbitski Viestnik:

Insurance of Soldiers' Health.

Steel Mule.

School Rooms Help in Industrial Democracy.

Special Government Loans to Farmers.

Y. M. C. A. Pamphlet.

*Articles given to ——, of the Russian Information Bureau, to take to Omsk for the newspaper "Russian Army."*

What the American Soldier Reads.

Kinematograph Accompanies the Soldier.

Armament for the American Soldier.

Trying out Airmen in America.

Soldiers in Camp Read.

Taft on Training Camps.

One Hundred and Fifty Students under Arms.

Further, asked him to ask Winters for the draft system article.

Letter from Mrs. Ianchevetski reporting on the work done for the committee in Cheliabinsk:

CHELIABINSK, February 12.

DEAR MR. BROWN: I beg to advise you that up to the present time we have not received Nos. 4 and 5 of the journal Friendly Word.

The other journals and brochures sent by you were received in the following amounts:

	Copies.
(1) Friendly Word, No. 1-----	2,500
(2) Friendly Word, No. 2-----	3,000
(3) Friendly Word, No. 3-----	1,500
(4) American Activity in Siberia-----	3,000
(5) German Attempt to Control Russia-----	2,500
(6) 14 Peace Points of President Wilson-----	1,500
(7) Young Men's Christian Association-----	1,500
(8) Posters of the League of Nations; Speech of President Wilson, Sept. 27, 1918-----	8,000
(9) Letters of an American Friend-----	2,500
(10) America and Peace-----	1,750
(11) German peace offer posters-----	1,000

The literature received is distributed in Cheliabinsk and the surrounding district among teachers, priests, schools, high schools, co-operative societies, hospitals, military hospital stations, newspaper offices, libraries, reading rooms, army staffs, and private individuals.

A part of the literature received is sent to Zalotoust to the Zemskaya Uprava for similar distribution among the population of Zalotoust and the surrounding district.

In Cheliabinsk an office has been organized where all who wish to may receive daily the free literature of the committee. This office is open from 9 to 12 and from 3 to 6 daily. For the work of this office there has been engaged a secretary, Mr. Sokolof, a journalist, well acquainted with publicity work.

The literature of the committee interests every one very much. There are received daily new requests for sending literature and expressions of gratitude for the sympathetic attitude of America toward Russia.

For the expenses of the office and mailing I gave Mr. Sokolof 550 rubles, for which he will account. He will also account for the distribution of the literature. A full account of the expenses incurred by Mr. Ianchevetski we can give only in Omsk, where he is now. In the absence of Mr. Ianchevetski, the office will be in charge of Mr. Sokolof.

Yours, truly,

M. IANCHEVETSKI.

Letter from M. E. Dementieff, Tiumen:

JANUARY 24 1919.

DEAR SIR: With sincere thanks I confirm the receipt of the journal the Friendly Word, Nos. 1 and 2, several copies, and several pamphlets which I will try to distribute among the population. Many replies were received to the proposition made in your circular with regard to the receiving of the journal by individuals here, and there will be many more, so that it will hardly be possible to satisfy all who desire the journal, and as it will hardly be convenient to trouble you with sending the journal to many individual addresses, wouldn't it perhaps be better to do as follows: Send a larger number of copies to my address, and then I, as director of the Tiumen Public Bank, member of the Householders' Committee, president of the Association of the Clergy, and acquainted with many different classes of the population, can distribute them, thus relieving you of the inconvenience of sending to a large number of addresses every week. At present you may send 50 or more copies weekly.

Yours, etc.,

M. E. DEMETIEFF.

Letter from the Teachers' Union of the Ural:

JANUARY 17, 1919.

DEAR SIR: On the 14th of the present month I had the pleasure of receiving 50 copies of the journal Friendly Word, kindly sent by you.

Expressing my thanks for the consideration shown our organization by you, I am glad to testify to the real interest on the part of the members of the union in your serious and interesting journal. The number of members of our union is more than 150 in Ekaterinberg, and I was able to give your journal to only a part of them.

Very sincerely, yours,

E. STOROGI,  
Chairman Union Teachers.

Letter from the Ekaterinberg Educational-Economic Association (Kulturno-Ekonomicheski Soiuz) :

JANUARY 18, 1919.

DEAR SIR: The Executive Committee of the Educational-Economic Association of Ekaterinberg expresses its deep gratitude for Nos. 1 and 2 of the Friendly Word that were sent to it.

The committee fully shares the thought that a friendly union of peoples is possible only when there is the fullest and most many-sided mutual acquaintance with the conditions of life and the ideals of the peoples.

The committee takes advantage of the opportunity to say that in this connection the Friendly Word fully accomplishes its end. Therefore the committee is taking every measure toward the distribution of the journal among its members and asks you, if possible, to increase the number of copies sent.

Yours, etc.,

D. ——, Vice Chairman.

Letter from the divisional traffic superintendent of the Perm Railroad (receiving 200 copies) :

JANUARY 10, 1919.

DEAR SIR: By the present I inform you that the copies of the Friendly Word sent us are being given out by hand to the employees and the workmen, and have won the sympathy of the readers, and I therefore respectfully ask the bureau to send 800 copies every week.

Yours, etc.,

—, Superintendent.

### WORK IN RUSSIA—ARCHANGEL.

[Report by READ LEWIS.]

ARCHANGEL, December 26, 1918.

EDGAR SISSON,

General Director, Foreign Section,

Committee on Public Information, Washington.

I have established on the basis of half support the American Sentinel, published at Archangel for the American troops in northern Russia. The paper was started and is edited and published by Capt. Roger Lewis, of the American Red Cross, formerly Associated Press representative in Petrograd, and myself. Its cost, which amounts to the equivalent of about \$150 a week, is borne jointly by the Red Cross and the Committee on Public Information.

I found on my arrival here a very real need of some medium which would furnish the American forces with regular

news. Everyone in Archangel feels pretty much cut off from the rest of the world, and the troops at the front had no way of getting even such news as was available in Archangel. To keep the men in regular contact with the outside world and the important events taking place there, as well as with home news, seemed essential if their spirit and morale were to be maintained through the isolation and rigors of the long, dark winter months. The difficulties of getting together enough English type to print any kind of a paper and of finding typesetters were in a manner overcome and the paper was started. Shortage of paper makes it possible to print only about 2,500 to 3,000 copies a week. These are distributed to all American units and all English units. The paper thus serves in a small way as a channel of American propaganda with the English, and will, I trust, be one means of creating better feeling between the English and American forces in north Russia.

The Sentinel is carried on quite independently of my regular Russian work, to which my chief energies are devoted.

Respectfully, yours,

READ LEWIS.

#### THE WORK IN CHINA.

The very remarkable success of the committee's work in China was due to the inspiring cooperation of Dr. Paul Reinsch, the American Minister, the brilliant and devoted services of Mr. Carl Crow, the Compub representative, and the effective and unstinted assistance of patriotic American residents in China. While not completely descriptive of the work or achievements, there is pride and interest in the following memorial to the President of the United States unanimously adopted by the American Chamber of Commerce of Shanghai, China, indorsing the work of the Committee on Public Information:

Until the outbreak of the war the only American and European news received in China was sent out by Reuters and by the German agency, Ostasiatische Lloyd. The latter agency, which was discontinued on China's entrance into the war, made no pretense of being other than a German agency devoted solely to German news. While Reuters is the most international of existing news agencies, it is

edited in London primarily for the British colonies and paid little attention to American affairs. The American news published by Reuters consisted very largely of reports of crimes and corruption and American policies were seldom referred to except when British interests were affected. (Some specific examples of this are given in Appendix A.)

Through the connection between Reuters and the Kokusai (the official Japanese news agency) the Japanese are able to present their views in China, as news sent from Tokyo is distributed by Reuters. This means that when there is a controversial issue between Japan and America, Japanese views are given the widest publicity in China, while American opinions are learned here only after they have been edited in London. In the past when there has been an issue between Japan and America only the Japanese side has been fully presented in China. This arrangement between the Kokusai and Reuters is similar to the arrangement between the Associated Press and Reuters with this important difference—that Japanese news is sent direct to China while American news sent by the Associated Press must come through London.

In addition to this arrangement with Reuters the Japanese have organized a semiofficial news agency which supplies Far Eastern news to Chinese publications. Japanese consuls act as correspondents for this agency, the dispatches being sent in code.

From time to time prominent Americans who visited the Far East have noted this condition and have thought to remedy it by organizing an American news service. But very high cable tolls across the Pacific and the small number of publications in China able to subscribe to a news service always made such an organization impossible. As a commercial proposition an American news agency in the Far East could not be made profitable for many years. Reuters with its long established connections is able to operate here only because of the support it receives from organized British commercial interests and the British Government.

This situation has been partly remedied by the Committee on Public Information which, at the beginning of the war, arranged for the interception in Shanghai of a daily news report sent by wireless from San Diego and later from San Francisco. This service has helped to keep Americans in China in touch with the war activities of their homeland and has informed the Chinese of the part America has taken in the war. Had it not been for this report, Chinese would never have learned of the very important part America has played in the war, for Reuters report has been devoted very largely to telling of British victories and has steadily minimized the part played by the Americans and French. (See Appendix B.)

During the last few months of the war the Committee on Public Information was very active in China and during that time conducted most effective war propaganda and has also perfected plans which if carried out will serve to make American influence in China stronger

than it has ever been before. We will mention a few of the activities of the committee:

(1) An American news agency has been organized to take over the work of translating American news and distributing it to the Chinese papers. This news agency is now supplying the news to more than three hundred Chinese newspapers, some of whom are paying for the service. American news now predominates in the Chinese papers, and this American agency, though only a few months old, is now supplying the bulk of the foreign news and comment published in the Chinese press.

As this agency develops it will be able to (a) develop into a news distributing agency which is partly if not wholly self-supporting, (b) supply American officials and firms with translations of comment from the Chinese papers, (c) disseminate commercial and other news which will be of benefit to America's interest and of special help to Americans doing business in China, (d) help the Chinese newspapers to develop and expand their influence, thereby creating vehicles for the expression of public opinion and bringing China in line with the political development of the rest of the world. It is the first agency of its sort to be organized in China and has started with the hearty support of the Chinese publishers.

It may be pointed out that the Chinese newspaper publishing industry is still in its infancy, but is the most rapidly growing business in China. While 10 years ago there were less than a dozen there are now more than 400 dailies published in the Chinese language.

(2) The publication of the war addresses of President Wilson, in both Chinese and English, has been arranged with Chinese publishers. These are to be used as textbooks in the Chinese schools.

(3) More than 400 volunteer agents located in every province of China have been secured. These agents undertake the work of distributing literature and of reporting on Chinese opinion. They are all Americans, either American missionaries or employees of American firms. Although only recently organized they form an effective and efficient force and are able in the shortest possible time to distribute throughout China any literature it is thought desirable to send out. It is the most efficient organization of its kind in the Far East. No other country has now and none can form an organization of this kind, for no other country is so ably represented in the interior of China. (See Appendix C.)

(4) A mailing list which will comprise the names of prominent Chinese in every locality in China is now being compiled. This list when complete will contain the names of 50,000 of the most important citizens of the Chinese Republic. If kept up to date it will enable the American Government to speak directly to the Chinese people.

(5) The representative of the Film Division of the Committee on Public Information has just arrived in China. The work this division of the committee can do will be very valuable, and doubtless it can be carried on without expense to the Government, for the rental of the films will cover the cost of operation.

(6) The representative of the committee has in mind many other plans for advancing American interests and influence in China. Among them we may mention the promotion of the publication of trade magazines, the translation and publication of American books, the preparation of suitable textbooks for the Chinese schools, the collection of crop reports, the distribution of American seed to Chinese farmers, the distribution of American school and college catalogues, etc. Many of these activities will be carried out without expense to the United States Government and only need the attention of the committee representatives.

In conclusion, the American Chamber of Commerce, representing more than 100 American business firms and individuals doing business in China, most heartily indorses the work the Committee on Public Information is doing in China, and expresses the earnest hope that it will continue its work here and will be supplied with funds sufficient to carry out its program. Unless this is done, America's influence in China may not be felt to the extent that America deserves because her voice will not be heard.

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#### APPENDIX A.

##### REUTERS AND AMERICAN NEWS.

The following excerpts were selected at random from Reuters report of July and August, 1912. They give a fair idea of the character of American news Reuters has always circulated. Reuters has always emphasized American crime, political graft, and commercial hypocrisy. Until the Committee on Public Information began work in China this was the only news about America received in China and it was from this news alone that the Chinese formed their opinions of current American affairs. The excerpts referred to above follow:

New York, July 26.—There is rioting in the Paint Creek mining district of West Virginia. The miners have cut off telephones and telegraphs and in the absence of the news the papers are publishing the wildest report of fighting with bombs, machine guns, and rifles. The most creditable is that two private detectives were killed.

New York, July 28.—Communications with Paint Creek the coal mining district of West Virginia, has been restored. One miner was killed in the riots. Many shots were fired, but nobody else was injured.

New York, July 30.—There was a sensational climax to the Rosenthal case yesterday evening when the grand jury indicted Police Lieutenant Becker on a charge of murder. Becker was arrested at the police station and brought to the Criminal Court where he was arraigned. He was remanded, bail being refused. The indictment of Becker followed the evidence of three gamblers who have been detained for some time charged with complicity in the killing.

New York, July 31.—A man who has been arrested in the Rosenthal murder case has sworn to an affidavit that three police officials and a city official divided graft to the amount of gold \$2,500,000 during the past year from gambling and other illegal resorts.

New York, August 12.—A negro and six Italians were electrocuted at Sing Sing Prison yesterday, the largest number for one day hitherto.

New York, August 12.—The provisions of the Panama Canal bill excluding ships owned by the American railroads from the use of the canal is arousing the fiercest opposition in railroad circles, which declare that the provision has established a monopoly of the coastwise trade.

The American press has combined to attack the bill in the warmest language as an act of incredible folly and wanton selfishness.

New York, August 15.—In connection with the police graft investigation, District Attorney Whitman has unearthed bank accounts showing that high officials have accumulated as much as a million dollars. Lieutenant Becker, whose salary is \$2,000 a year, has deposited \$68,845 since November.

New York, August 22.—A thousand pounds sterling reward has been anonymously placed at the disposal of the district attorney for the arrest of Lefty Louis and Gyp-the-Blood who are wanted, and for a complete round-up of persons suspected of complicity in the murder of the gambler Rosenthal. The police are not eligible for the reward. The district attorney is receiving written threats of death.

Washington, August 22.—There are indications of a hot political campaign owing to allegations made in the Senate by Senator Boies Penrose of Pennsylvania that the trusts contributed large sums to Mr. Roosevelt's political campaign in 1904. Mr. Roosevelt has published letters showing that he had forbidden the acceptance of such contributions.

New York, August 25.—Julia Curran, an Irish governess, who was found dead in a low-class hotel here, is believed to have been murdered by a man who lured her there. The police describe the death as due to natural causes. The coroner's surgeon suggested that the police were trying to hush up the crime in order to save the reputation of a graft protected house.

London, August 26.—The papers emphatically decline to accept President Taft's argument anent the canal bill, which they regard as a mere legal quibble and worthier of a pettifogging attorney than the President of a great Republic.

#### APPENDIX B.

Reuters reports since the war began have been widely published around Canton, the Chinese papers copying them from the British papers of Hongkong. In view of this fact the following excerpt from a report by an American official in Canton is significant:

"I think it will interest you to hear that I have been told by a well-educated Chinese friend that he has not seen any news in the local press of the arrival of the American troops in France, and that the Germans here have been spreading reports that the Americans have no heart in fighting against them."

#### APPENDIX C.

The volunteer agents of the committee recently distributed 50,000 posters, copy of which is attached. These posters were placed on city gates, at the entrances to Yamens and in other prominent places. In many cities they enlisted the help of local officials, who lent the services of the police. A large number of these agents have reported to the Committee on Public Information as to the reception accorded the posters.

These agents are in frequent communication with the Shanghai office of the Committee on Public Information and it is believed that they supply more complete and accurate reports on Chinese opinion than can be secured from any other agency.

Counting the selling stations of the Standard Oil, Singer Sewing Machine Co., and British-American Tobacco Co., together with chapels, reading rooms, and mission schools, the committee now has at its disposal more than 2,000 places for the display of pictures and posters. These cover every important point in China.

#### WORK IN ARGENTINA, URUGUAY, AND PARAGUAY.

(By H. H. SEVIER, Commissioner.)

On June 19, 1918, your commissioner assumed the direction of the activities of your committee in Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay, taking over the headquarters offices which had been opened by your representative, Lieut. F. E. Ackerman, U. S. N. R. The inauguration of an educational campaign along the lines decided upon by your chairman and the then director of your Foreign Educational Division immediately followed.

The preliminary organization effected by Lieut. Ackerman was perfected and arrangements for the carrying out of the work on a broad and comprehensive scale were made. Most attention, at the outset, was devoted to the mobilization of the press of the three republics and the establishment of such relations with each individual newspaper as would insure the widest publicity for informative reports of America's effort in the great war, our war aims and peace purposes, the magnitude of our preparations, and the determina-

tion of the American people to engage their entire resources, if necessary, to bring about complete victory for the cause to which they had committed themselves.

Your commissioner was at once convinced that the most effective means of securing the attention and respect and sympathy of the most of the peoples of our sister republics was to tell them our story, day after day, as forcefully as possible, through the medium of their newspapers. The percentage of literacy in Argentina and Uruguay, particularly, is remarkably high, and every newspaper of any importance at all in those countries has a considerable following. The good will and cooperation of the leading journals was secured at the beginning, and within a reasonable length of time 90 per cent of the publications, of all classes in the countries named, were receiving and using our service. The newspapers of the cities and towns carried daily a specially prepared cable service covering official announcements from Washington, the development of our war preparations, and the extent of our participation in the acutal fighting; the progress of our shipbuilding, munitions manufacture, and the financial, moral, and other aid extended to our Allies. These news stories were frequently played up with illustrations of our air and sea craft, our camps, cantonments and trenches, our factories, and our guns; and with photographs of our statesmen, soldiers, and citizen workers in every branch of war activity.

Weekly and class publications were regularly supplied with special articles and illustrations, carefully prepared to meet their particular requirements and style. The tri-weekly, semiweekly, and weekly press of the Provinces was furnished with condensed news stories assembled from the more important developments of the period between publication.

It should be mentioned that all news stories and special articles were translated by experts in our offices, and always in the language of the publication receiving our service. During the periods of important military operations and through the exciting times preceding the armistice a day and night service was maintained, with our offices in constant touch with the great newspapers of the three countries. In submitting our matter we invariably stipulated that it

was offered for reproduction either in total or in part, at the discretion of the editor, and that no credit to the committee was necessary. In many instances, however, our credit line was carried, and in no instance, to our knowledge, was our matter garbled or falsely construed.

The value and importance of such a service may be more fully appreciated if it is understood that before the advent of your committee the amount of news of any character concerning the United States carried by South American publications was practically negligible. The European news agencies occupied the field without opposition of consequence. The French and English associations naturally devoted their services to the interests of their own countries. The affairs of the United States, even our war activities, were treated lightly. Under subsidies of the German Government and German capitalists three daily newspapers were published in Buenos Aires. One, written in the Spanish language, was a positive force, because of the skill with which it distorted the facts and the cleverness of its editorial misrepresentation of the cause of the Allies. The other two, printed in German, gave aid and comfort to the Teutonic element.

Fortunately, there are now two American news associations—the Associated Press and the United Press—operating successfully in South America with a rapidly increasing clientele. They are furnishing an excellent and comprehensive service and will undoubtedly prove indispensable in carrying on the campaign for the permanent establishment of mutual knowledge, understanding, and friendship which your committee conceived and placed in operation.

An important feature of the work of the Buenos Aires office was the preparation, printing, and distribution of pamphlets, posters, circulars, etc. A list of all American business concerns was secured. A card index indicated how much matter each could effectively distribute. The packing houses, banks, shippers, merchants, and selling agencies cheerfully agreed to inclose our literature in their daily correspondence. Many patriotic institutions and individuals took from us copies of the speeches of President Wilson and other leaders by the thousands, forwarding them to their representatives and customers in all sections of the country.

The ever increasing demand from these sources indicated the interest with which America's message was being received.

The photographs sent from Washington were captioned and catalogued on their arrival. They were used in profusion in newspapers and magazines both with and without explanatory articles. In addition, and perhaps most effective, were the exhibitions of the pictures in public places. For such displays some 100 or more light, attractive frames were designed, each frame carrying 12 photographs. These were placed in the show windows of the largest business houses, the lobbies of the leading hotels, and the reading rooms of various social, commercial, and workingmen's clubs. In every city or town of any importance one or more of these frames was conspicuously located. By a carefully worked-out system we were able to change these displays once a week.

In the offices of the committee files of such American newspapers, magazines, trade journals, etc., as were sent us or could be purchased, were kept. These, together with our Government reports, the Official Bulletin, authoritative articles on banking, industrial, manufacturing, agricultural, and other subjects by American experts were at the disposition of the general public. From them data was obtained by educators, journalists, and students. We wrote articles on given subjects and assembled facts and figures for addresses delivered to various organizations and societies. Editors of Argentina, Spanish, French, Italian, and British publications were constantly supplied with material which was desired in order to answer statements of enemy writers.

Personal association with leaders of South American thought, was not overlooked or neglected. Your commissioner was frequently extended the privilege of addressing the universities and schools in response to requests from the student bodies for information concerning "North America." A sincere desire on the part of many students to attend universities in the United States, in order that they might perfect themselves in the English or "North American" language and study our life, our laws, and our business methods, was developed, and at the suggestion and with the assistance of Dr. Ernesto Nelson, of Buenos Aires, and Dr. Galves, of the University of Chili, a plan for an exchange of North American for South American students was worked out and

about to be placed in operation when the activities of the committee were suspended.

The moving-picture feature of the committee's work did not develop until the arrival of Mr. Ernest L. Starr, who arrived in October. No films of any consequence had been received from the Division of Films up to that time. Mr. Starr was assigned to both Argentina and Chili by your commissioner, and later to Uruguay. It should be stated that Mr. Starr achieved remarkable success with his exhibitions, conducting the film campaign with energy and ability. In view of the early closing of the committee's activities it was agreed that Mr. Starr would report direct to the committee, covering all phases of film propaganda.

Your commissioner is under obligations to Mr. Frederico Crocker, of Montevideo, who acted as local representative in Paraguay; to William Dawson, Esq., American consul at Montevideo, and to the American colony of Uruguay in general. The assistance of Hon. Daniel Mooney, American minister, and the American residents of Asuncion, was of much value in our efforts in Paraguay.

The committee's activities in Chili are covered by the reports of Mr. A. A. Preciado up to October, 1918. Mr. Presiado served as the committee's representative until that time, when the writer assumed charge of the Santiago office under instructions from Washington. The armistice shortly followed Mr. Preciado's retirement, and the activities from then until the close were mostly in the handling of the important news incident to that event.

#### WORK IN PERU, ECUADOR, AND BOLIVIA.

(By C. N. GRIFFIS, Commissioner.)

In this final report of the activities of the Lima office of the United States Committee on Public Information, covering the territory of Peru, Ecuador, and Bolivia, it is necessary to note that the territory to be covered was widely scattered; that journalism in these countries is still extremely provincial, and that communication and transport are slow and uncertain.

This handicap was offset somewhat by the fact that the writer of this report, who was placed in charge of the Lima office, had been a resident in Lima for the previous five or six years and for that period of time had been handling a publicity organization, in the form of an Anglo-American newspaper, *The West Coast Leader*. It was possible to place the services of the Leader organization—its agents, correspondents, and friends—entirely at the disposition of the committee and obtain for the committee's publicity material a comprehensive circulation in territory which would otherwise have been difficult and expensive to cover. Thus in addition to telegraph and mail service reaching the important centers, such as Lima and Arequipa in Peru, La Paz, and Oruro in Bolivia, and Guayaquil and Quito in Ecuador, the pamphlet and pictorial publications were sent broadcast through the more remote provinces of the three republics—to the isolated mining camps, the scattered estates—to points as widely separated and as difficult to reach as Santa Cruz de la Sierra and Trinidad in Bolivia, Moyabamba and the Chanchamayo Valley in Peru, Esmeraldas and Cuenca in Ecuador.

It is not my desire to in any way over-estimate the importance of the results obtained by the work conducted in this territory. Accurate analysis of these results is, of course, impossible. Yet it can not be denied that, as a result of the few months intensive work undertaken by the committee in this field, the mass of people in all sections of the country have acquired a far more graphic and comprehensive idea of the power and position of the United States, as well as the policies and ideals of the American people, than they ever had before. These conceptions could not possibly have been obtained through ordinary channels, and it is safe to say that the Peruvians and their neighbors have a much clearer idea of the war efforts and achievements of the States than they have of the efforts and achievements of any of our European allies, though the latter were engaged in the war for a much longer period. This clearer conception is due almost wholly to Compub activities, for other agencies of intercommunication made no radical departure in their established policies to meet the radically altered conditions.

What I regard as concrete evidence of some of the statements made in the above paragraph is supplied by the magnificent response of Lima, a city of less than 200,000 inhabitants, to the fourth Liberty loan, with a total of \$700,000. Lima is far from being a wealthy city, and this subscription was \$400,000 more than the maximum set by the committee in charge of the sale of bonds. But the investing public here had become thoroughly convinced of the boundless resources and impregnable economic strength of the States. They could not evade absorbing that impression. The committee photographs setting forth American industrial resources were constantly surrounded by interesting crowds, while the morning and afternoon papers invariably carried their columns of supplementary data. As a first-hand observer of Latin American opinion during the past few years I would say that the old conception of the United States held in 1913, an admixture of Mexican and Colombian suspicions and general distrust, has given entirely away in 1919 to a wholly new conception and realization of the full magnitude of American power and policy.

#### WIRE AND WIRELESS DISTRIBUTION OF COMPUB NEWS.

The most important and perhaps the most influential feature of the Compub service from the point of view of this particular field was the daily cable service. Owing to arrangements effected by cable, railway telegraph, and wireless communication, two trunk systems were thrown out from the central office in Lima, covering a wide stretch of territory at a very low cost.

The first system was south from Lima, wireless messages being filed at the San Christobal (Lima) radiographic station, which were picked up by the Cachendo wireless station, located near Arequipa on the Southern Railway of Peru. Through arrangement with Mr. L. S. Blaisdell, manager of the Southern, an experienced telegraph operator received the messages from the State wireless service and sent them out over the railway telegraph line to Mollendo, Cuzco, Arequipa, Puno, and La Paz, and intermediate points. At all of these points the messages were given full publicity. Arrangements were being made for a further extension of this southern trunk line by sending out the messages from La Paz

over all of the Bolivian railway telegraph lines, but owing to the signing of the armistice shortly after this office was opened and the falling off of cable service no regular service was ever established on the Bolivian railways, though many of the more important messages were given publicity throughout Bolivia in this manner.

The second line was north from Lima, by Central & South American Cable Co., to Payta, Peru, and Guayaquil, Ecuador. At the latter point the messages were filed free of charge on the Guayaquil & Quito Railway telegraph line to Quito, Ecuador, and intermediate points.

The subagents cooperating with this office on the southern line wire service were Mr. L. S. Blaisdell, manager of the Southern Railway, at Arequipa, and Mr. Victor Tyree, of Denniston & Co., at La Paz.

Those cooperating with this office on the northern wire service were Mr. C. W. Copeland, of the American consulate, Guayaquil, and Prof. E. S. Brown, of the Allied committee at Quito. Expenditure in connection with this service is duly set forth in the accounts of the Lima office, which have been submitted.

By means of the foregoing service, the daily cables of the committee were distributed and published in all of the more important daily newspapers of Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador.

As noted in the report of November 25th, the following papers received the direct telegraph service.

*In Peru.*

Lima: *El Comercio*, *La Prensa*, *La Cronica*, *La Ley*, *El Tiempo*.

\* Piura: *El Deber*.

\* Cajamarca: *El Heraldo*, *El Ferrocarril*.

\* Chiclayo: *El Progreso*, *El Bien Agricola*.

\* Ferreñafe: *Le Epoca*.

\* Trujillo: *El Deber*, *La Libertad*.

\* Huancayo: *La Voz*.

\* Cañete: *La Tarde*.

\* Chincha Alta: *La Union*.

\* Ica: *El Heraldo*, *El Tiempo*.

Mollendo: *La Patria*, *El Porteño*.

Arequipa: *El Heraldo*.

Puno: *El Siglo*.

NOTE.—Papers indicated thus (\*) received their service from a Lima correspondent who was given copies of the Compub cables. They paid their own telegraph tolls.

*In Ecuador.*

Guayaquil: El Guante, El Tiempo, El Indipendiente, El Diario Ilustrado.

Quito: El Comercio, La Nacion, El Dia.

Riobamba: Los Andes.

Bahia: El Globo.

*In Bolivia.*

La Paz: El Diario, El Tiempo.

Both in Ecuador and Bolivia the telegraphic news reached more papers than those listed above, but definite lists have never been received from the agents. The armistice in November and the closure of the Compub offices in January, together with the practical abandonment of daily cable service in December, tended to lessen the enthusiasm of our outside agents, whose services were largely voluntary, Messrs. Tyree, Copeland, and Brown merely being paid a small monthly sum to cover incidental expenses. As I advised in my previous report, organization of Compub work in Ecuador and Bolivia to the same degree it was organized in Peru would have necessitated a personal visit to both these countries.

In addition to the newspapers, there were many small communities, particularly mining camps, along the line of the Central Railway of Peru, where no newspapers existed, but where this telegraphic news was received and placed on bulletin boards. The same condition applied to the Southern Railway system in southern Peru and the Guayaquil & Quito Railway in Ecuador, over which Compub telegrams were transmitted.

The handling of these north and south wire reports took up no small portion of the time of myself and my assistant, Mr. E. A. Le Roux. This work, together with the full service of every description given to the Lima newspapers, prevented us from taking up as comprehensively as could be desired the numerous suggestions and queries which came in constantly from the various sections of the committee at Washington and New York.

## MAIL NEWS.

All of the newspapers above listed received the mail news service regularly. The papers of La Paz, Lima, Quito, and Guayaquil were supplied with the full service, the smaller provincial papers receiving generally alternate sets of mail matter. All of the mail matter was distributed direct from the Lima office for central and northern Peru, and elsewhere by Messrs. Blaisdell from Arequipa, Tyree from La Paz, Copeland from Guayaquil, and Brown from Quito.

## PAMPHLET DISTRIBUTION.

As stated in the previous report of the pamphlets received by this office for distribution some 40 per cent were retained in Peru, 30 per cent shipped to Ecuador, and 30 per cent shipped to Bolivia. Of the amount retained in Peru practically all were sent into the smaller towns and provinces. This was owing to the fact that in the metropolitan centers the daily press and other abundant reading material nullified to a considerable degree the propaganda value of the pamphlet; whereas in the provinces reading matter is exceedingly scarce and difficult to secure and even patent-medicine almanacs are read religiously through. My experience has been that even the most attractive pamphlets, though they may be carefully conserved by their recipients, are rarely if ever read through in the metropolitan centers. Vast sums of money were spent by British propaganda on costly lithographed pamphlets, but it is now generally admitted that this money was inadvisably spent and that more effective results could have been secured by other means. Were it not for the provincial outlet, I personally would have advised the suspension of pamphlet distribution. It might have reached the mark in a few individual cases, but in Lima widespread pamphlet distribution would have done more harm than good. For four years pamphlets, British, French, Belgian, and German, had been raining from the heavens, the public were surfeited with them, and pamphlets were actually creating prejudice against their distributors.

## PHOTOGRAPHIC SERVICE.

This was, beyond question, one of the most effective divisions of Compub activities. The appeal of the picture service was instantaneous, not so much to the press, as to the general public. It has been my experience that average newspaper illustrations do not hold a reader's attention very long, while high quality engravings or preferably original photographs catch and hold the eye of people in every walk of society. Certainly the 12 bulletin boards which we placed throughout Lima, each carrying 40 to 50 photographs, were never lacking an audience. This system of photographic distribution was highly satisfactory in its results. After rotating on the 12 Lima boards, sets of photographs were sent up the line of the Central Railway to be shown at the various stations and camps, and were also sent out into the provinces and were kept track of until lost or worn out. In this manner each photograph passed before several thousand pairs of eyes, while out of the abundant supply the newspapers were provided with all they could use. The wastage in photographic publicity material was therefore practically nil. The poster reproduction of photographs with Spanish captions were also exceedingly popular and permitted us to reach certain provincial districts where the use of photographs would have been prohibitive from the viewpoint of cost. All of the photographic enlargements were suitably framed and after being exhibited for several weeks in shop windows were distributed among various leading clubs and other institutions.

This report is in many respects merely a revision of my report of November 25, but as the offices were in operation for only two months after that report was made the limited additional experience has not tended to alter materially the outlook I then had. The keynote of this office has been "efficient distribution," and more attention has been devoted to the business of keeping the material moving to the ultimate consumer—the press and the public—than to any other factor in the situation. There was very little to criticise in the material sent out from the States—nothing, in fact, that I can recall at the present time.

## OTHER WORK IN SOUTH AMERICA.

The activities of the Committee on Public Information in other South American countries followed the same lines as those described by Mr. Sevier and Mr. Griffis. The committee's representatives were:

Brazil: Hon. Edwin V. Morgan, United States ambassador.

Chile: A. A. Preciado.

Panama, Costa Rica, Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras, Colombia: S. P. Verner.

Venezuela: Hon. Emil Sauer, Maracaibo, and the Hon. Preston McGoodwin, American minister, Caracas, Venezuela.

To all of these is due a debt of appreciation for work faithfully, brilliantly, and effectively performed.

## WORK IN SWEDEN AND NORWAY.

Mr. Eric H. Palmer was the commissioner of the Committee on Public Information for both Sweden and Norway, and the results achieved were remarkable for the completeness of their success. Mr. Guy Crosswell Smith, after inaugurating the film campaign in Russia, was appointed director of films for all Scandinavian countries and was the directing genius in the campaign that eliminated the German propaganda film.

Respectfully submitted,

GEORGE CREEL,  
*Chairman.*







